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STUDIES IN INDIAN CULTURAL HISTORY

BY

P. K. Gode, M. A., D. Litt. (Paris)



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FOREWORD

We have great pleasure in presenting to the world of scholars this fifth volume of Professor Dr. P. K. Gode's Collected works, the second in the *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, which is the second to be published by " Prof. P. K. Gode Collected Works Publication Committee. " The genesis of the Committee and the necessary information about it and the list of contributors to the Publication Fund have been given in the third volume. Though the proceeds from the third volume were available to the Committee, but for the spontaneous voluntary donations from the following kind friends of Prof. Dr. Gode, the present volume could not have seen the light of the day so soon: —

Prof. K. K. Handiqui of Jorhat (Rs. 500/–)
Shamaraj Bhalerao of Hyderabad (Rs. 200/–)
The late Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deb of Baripada
(Rs. 100/–).

On behalf of the Committee we offer our grateful thanks to these friends for their kind help in the cause of scholarship and learning.

The book contains 20 articles and covers 260 pages of the text. One article by Prof. R. T. S. Miller of the Wilson College, Bombay, on " The Nose – ring in the Old Testament " (No. 17) is included in this volume to give completeness to Dr. Gode's series of articles on " The Hindu Nose - ornament " (Nos. 12–16). The articles embrace literary, historical and cultural subjects, and, as usual, present all the data, both Indian and foreign, in every sphere bearing on the topic, in a thorough, precise and comprehensive manner, which characterises all writings of Prof. Gode. Different articles on the same topic have been presented in a serial order so that readers get a complete picture of the particular problem.

In these 19 articles by Prof. Gode are presented nine different series, dealing with fire – arms, mounted bowman, stirrup, sling, Bhavānī sword, Bhagvā Zeṇḍā, bullock-cart, nose-ornament or " nath ", and Divālī. The supreme importance of the articles on " Nose - ornament " (Nos. 12–16) which conclusively prove " that the nose – ornament makes its appearance in Indian history and culture about 1000 A. D. but not

earlier", in fixing the chronology of literary works in India will be evident to all students of Indian culture. The history of the Divālī festival (Nos. 18–20) has been traced from A. D. 50 down to the present day, on the basis of literary sources – Sanskrit, Prakrit and regional languages – epigraphy, folklore, etc. Those interested in the history of war in India, ancient, medieval, and modern, will find valuable and interesting material in the articles dealing with fire-arms (Nos. 1–3), mounted bowman (No. 4), stirrup (No. 5) and sling (No. 6). There is an informative study of the prehistoric and Vedic ancestors of the Indian bullock-cart (No. 11) followed by a comparison of the carriage manufacture in Vedic India and ancient China (No. 12). Students of Maratha history will find fresh material from Sanskrit sources regarding the Bhavānī sword (No. 7) and the Bhagvā Zeṇḍā (No. 8).

On this happy occasion our special thanks are due to Puratattvacharya Muni Jinavijayaji, Hon. Director of the Rajasthan Research Institute, who set the ball rolling by publishing two volumes of Prof. Gode's *Studies in Indian Literary History*, and this facilitated the work on further volumes. We are glad to state that the fourth volume is almost ready and will be published soon by Acharya Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Director of the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur; and that through the kind benefaction of Prof. K. K. Handiqui, former Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University, the printing of the sixth volume has already started.

In conclusion, we wish Dr. Gode long life full of vigour and vitality so as to enable him to continue his literary activity in full force, as he has been doing all along.

J. R. Gharpure
R. N. Dandekar
A. D. Pusalker
N. A. Gore

PREFACE

I have great pleasure in presenting to the world of scholars this fifth Volume of my **Studies**, which is Vol. II of my **Studies in Indian Cultural History** or Vol. V of my collected **Studies**. The progress of the publication of my **Studies** will be clear from the following table :—

P. K. Gode Studies	Title	Publisher
Vol. I	*Studies in Indian Literary History* – Vol. I (Singhi Jain Series No. 37) 1953, pp. 570.	Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7
Vol. II	Do – Vol. II (S. J. Series No. 38), 1954, pp. 560.	Do –
Vol. III	Do – Vol. III, 1956, pp. 270.	P. K. Gode Works Publication Committee, Poona 4.
Vol. IV	*Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Vol. I	V. Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur.
Vol. V	Do – Vol. II, 1960, pp. 298	P. K. Gode Works Publication Committee.
Vol. VI	Do – Vol. III (in Press)	Do –

A glance at the above table will show how the work of the publication of my **Studies** started by my revered friend Muni Shri Jiñavijayaji (General Editor, Singhi Jain Series) ten years ago has borne abundant fruit owing to the good will and co-operation of brother–scholars and affectionate friends whose benefaction * made it possible for me to bring out part III of my **Studies**.

Subsequently my affectionate friend Professor Vishva Bandhu Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., the Director of the V. Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiar-

* See list of Contributors to the Prof. P. K. Gode Works Publication Fund printed in Vol. III.

pur (Panjab), whose high regard for learning and the learned is well known all over the world, offered to publish Vol. IV of my **Studies** and started its printing in the press of his Institute. This Volume of about 500 pp. will be out within a few months. The sale proceeds of Vol. III of my **Studies** realised in 1956 were not sufficient to finance Vol. V of my **Studies** immediately. Luckily I secured the following voluntary gifts from my affectionate friends for this Volume which made it possible for me to start the printing of this volume on the Dasara day (3rd October) 1957 :-

Rs. 500/- from Prof. K. K. Handiqui, M. A, Jorhat (retired Vice-chancellor of Gauhati university)

Rs. 200/- from Raja Shamraj Bhalerao of Hyderabad.

Rs. 100/- from Shri Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo, M. P. of Baripada (Orissa)

Rs. 800/-

I cannot adequately thank all these friends for their spontaneous donations and high regard for my humble work in the field of Indology. I have enjoyed the friendship of my learned friend Prof. Handiqui for over thirty five years. This friendship, which has now deepened into affection, enabled me to start the printing of Vol. VI of my **Studies** on the Dasara day 11th October, 1959, as he made a gift of Rs. 2100/- towards the printing of this Volume. I hope to bring out this Volume after about two years. Raja Shamraj of Hyderabad, whose intimate friendship I have enjoyed since my first meeting with him twenty five years ago, has a soft corner not only for books but also for their authors. In fact he has kept in bound Volumes a majority of my papers in his magnificent library at Hyderabad. His voluntary gift for the present Volume amply speaks for his love for me and my work. The late Shri Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo M. P. of Baripada became my intimate friend in 1945 when he was studying at Cambridge under the guidance of my esteemed friend Dr. Bailey. He was a great lover of Sanskrit and was engaged in studying Sanskrit works on Tantra for many years prior to his unfortunate death two years ago. It is an irony of fate that he should pass away within a fortnight of his gift of Rs. 100/- towards the present Volume ! I deeply mourn his loss as I found in him not only an ardent devotee of Sanskrit learning but also a loving friend with a sincere soul and a spirit of benefaction, which is most needed at present for the progress of research in this country.

The present Volume of my Studies in Indian Cultural History is being published by the Committee organised by my friends, Dr. A. D.

Pusalker and Prof. N. A. Gore for the publication of my collected works. I owe to them a deep debt of gratitude not only for the fund they collected for the publication of Vol. III of my **studies** but also for the elaborate Indices they have provided to all my Volumes so far published. These Indices have enhanced the reference value of my Volumes. The labour of preparing these Indices is tremendous but it is a labour of love for which I cannot thank these friends adequately. Special thanks are due to Principal J. R. Gharpure, the Chairman of the Committee for his continued blessings for myself and my work and also to Dr. R. N. Dandekar (Treasurer) for his advice and co-operation in the editing and other matters pertaining to my volumes.

When Vol. VI of my **Studies** will be published after a year or so, a major part of my research output of about 4000 pages will be in a book-form. The publication of the papers not included in these Volumes will require about Rs. 20000/. If Providence comes to my help I may be able to bring out some volumes of these papers. In the meanwhile I have published a complete **Bibliography** of my 474 papers (1916 – 1959) in the **P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume**, edited by Dr. H. L. Hariyappa and Dr. M. M. Patkar and published by Dr. R. N. Sardesai, Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, Poona. I take this opportunity to thank all these affectionate friends for their labour of love on this Volume. I have also to thank not only all the scholars in India and outside, who have contributed articles to this Volume but others who have helped me in my research work during the last 43 years.

In the correction of the proofs of the present volume I have received considerable help from my friends Shri. S. N. Savadi of the B. O. R. Institute, Dr. A. D. Pusalker and Prof. N. A. Gore. I convey to them my cordial thanks for this selfless friendly help and co-operation. I have to convey my hearty thanks to Shri M. S. Sathe, the Manager of the Prājña Press, Wai; and all the workers of this press for the neat and careful printing of this Volume.

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona 4,
11th July 1960.

P. K. Gode

- Contents -

To

My Wife

Kamalabai

1. Use of Guns and Gunpowder In India*

From A. D. 1400 Onwards.

Sir P. C. Ray in his *History of Hindu Chemistry* [1] has collected much valuable information about Gunpowder, Saltpetre and the Mineral Acids. In connection with the belief entertained in some quarters that the ancient Hindus had the knowledge of the art of manufacturing gunpowder he quotes a passage from *Śukranīti* [2] or the Elements of Polity of Śukrācārya, containing mention of *Agni-cūrṇa* or fire-powder (gunpowder) and to *Nālāstra* or gun, but concludes by the remarks that "Śukranīti is a patch-work in which portions of Chapter IV were added sometime after the introduction of gunpowder in Indian warfare during the Moslem period." [3]

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* *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* in honour of Sir Denison Ross ed. by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, 1939, pp. 117-124.

1. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902, pp. 95–108.

2. Ed. by VIDYASAGARA, pp. 535–37, verses 201–211. Verse 202 mentions *agnicūrṇa* or gunpowder. *Nālāstra* or gun is mentioned in verses 203, 205, 210. *Golaḥ* (*lohamayaḥ*) or cannon-ball is mentioned in verses 204, 209, 211. *Laghunāla* or a gun with a light barrel is mentioned in v. 204. Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator of the Mahābhārata (between 1650-1700 A. D.) refers to *nāla* in the following passage :—

"यन्त्राणि आग्नेयौषधबलेन सीसकास्यहृदयद्रोल्पप्रक्षेपकाणि लोहमयानि भाषायां नाल्यशब्दाभिधेयानि तेषां सूत्रं सूचकं शास्त्रम्"

This is a description of iron guns. *Āgneyauṣadha* = *agnicūrṇa* = gunpowder (Vide *Sabhāparvan*, v. 21. Chitrashala Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, Poona, 1929, p. 17).

3. "Dr. R. L. MITRA, judging form the description of guns alone, concludes this portion to be spurious *vide* Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Vol. V, p. 155." Vide p. 145 of "Chronology of Modern India (A. D. 1494–1894) by James BURGESS, London, 1913 :—

"A. D. 1702–Gunpowder first manufactured at Madras." Obviously this entry refers to the English manufacture of gunpowder at Madras. It would be useful to investigate and record references to the manufacture of gunpowder in India earlier than A. D. 1702 by either Moslems or Hindus between, say, 1400 and 1702 A. D. A Maratha in the employ of Tipu Sultan by name Shivaji Mahadeva has recorded some information about Tipu Sultan's army while at Kalmari in the province of Kopal near Tungabhadra. According to this information Tipu manufactured guns for his army and ceased purchasing guns imported by the English.

("नव्या बंदुका करावयास कारखाने लाविले आहेत. तेथें नव्या बंदुका तयार करवीत आहे. ईंग्रजांकडील वगैरे बंदरी बंदुका घेत नाहीं." — *Vide* ऐतिहासिक टिपणें — No. 22 (Pub. by PARASNIS in इतिहाससंग्रह, Jan. 1911).

The Peshwas purchased pieces of cannon from the English in *December 1759*. Ramaji Mahadeva was asked to purchase these pieces of cannon from the the English at Bombay weighing more than 20 seers (*Pesh. Daftar Selection*, No. 40, p. 101) :—

The above conclusion raises the question about the earliest reference to guns and gunpowder as also their use in Indian warfare. About this question Dr. P. C. RAY makes the following remarks:—

" The first record of the use of cannon and gunpowder in Indian warfare is in the Memoirs of Baber. In 1528 he forced the passage of the Ganges near Kanauj with the aid of artillery.[1] "

Let us now record some authentic references to the invention and use of gunpowder and guns in the European records. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[2] " we have authentic information of guns in France in 1338 and in Florence in 1326 and that the Oxford MS *De Officiis Regum* of 1325 gives an illustration of a gun. " This information clearly proves that Baber's use of guns and gunpowder in 1528 in his Indian warfare is about 200 years after their invention in Europe about 1325.

We are concerned in this paper with the earliest reference to the use of guns and gunpowder in the Indian warfare by Moslems or their enemies.

The *Rās Mālā*[3] states that Mahomood Begurra, the celebrated Mahommedan king of Gujarat in his fight against the pirates of Bulsar used a force consisting of *Musketeers* and gunners about A. D. 1482.[4] He also *cannonaded* the city of Champaner according to the Muhammadan account of the fall of Champaner recorded in the *Rās Mālā*.[5]

" तोफाचे कारर केले आहेत तरी बीस बेसापासून वर्ते असतील ते येणें. "

In Pesh. Daft. No 89, Letter 70 of 6-9-1766 repair to guns and manufacture of ammunition is mentioned.

1. Vide article on early Asiatic fire-weapons by Maj. Gen. R. MACLAGAN in the Journ. As. Soc. Bengal. Vol. XLV, pp. 30 ff.

2. *Fourteenth Edition*, 1929, Vol. II, p. 3.

3. This book is also known as the *Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gujarat* by A. D. FORBES, founder of the Forbes Goozerathi Sabha, Bombay. (Born July 1821 and died at Poona on 31st August 1865).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 288. Vide also p. 65 BRIGGS : *Feristha* (History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till A.D. 1612) Calcutta, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 65. BRIGGS remarks about the use of musketeers in the siege of Champaner as follows :—

"This is the first mention of artillery and musketry in the Guzerat history. They were probably introduced by the Arabs and Turks from the Red Sea and Gulf of Persia, " p. 62. Use of a shell against Raja Beny Ray's palace in the siege of Champaner is mentioned. BRIGGS' note on the word *shell* reads :—

" The word is hooka. The use of shells at this early period is remarkable, although it is mentioned that the Moslems employed *grenadoes* in their ships at the time the Portuguese reached India. "

In the history of the Vijayanagar kings we find references to *pyrotechny*[1] in which gunpowder may possibly have been used.

In the historical poem *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājavijayam*[2] composed in A. D. 1648 we have references to guns (*pirangi*) carried on carts together with thousands of bags of gunpowder taken with the army in the expedition of Raṇadullakhan against the king of the Karnatak and his feudatories.

In a work called the *Yāvanaparipāṭi-anukrama* composed by Dalapatirāya under his patron Mādhavasiṃha about A.D. 1764[3] we have the draft of a letter to be addressed by the king to the officer in charge of the king's artillery called *Analādhyakṣa* ordering him to make the artillery ready for action. This draft as given in the *Yāvanaparipāṭi-anukrama* makes interesting reading and hence may be reproduced from MS No. 409 of 1882–83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—
Folio 10—

" अनलाध्यक्षं प्रति यंत्रशाला सज्जीकरणाय राज्ञः ॥ पत्रं ॥ शौर्यधैर्यनिधे चरनीकसचा-दिदृक्षया निर्यास्याम इति भवान् स्वनियोगे समवहितः ॥ सपताकवह्निबाणहस्तः पदातिनः करमोक्ष लंबकटानां लघुनालिकानां शतशतार्द्धनालिकानां च सुधा निसर्गशुद्धानां विद्रावणानां शकटिका गुलिकांगारचूर्णदर्वरिकागुळास्कंदर्दडपताकादुगनिलगौशिल्पिसारथिसुदृषभकलितानासीरे प्रथमेंद्र-ध्वजगजानुगामितया नियोजयतु ॥ द्वितीयेंद्रध्वजकारेणसुहृन्नालिका हयनालिका गजनालिकाश्च निज-निजोपस्करसज्जाः स्वयमपि कवचिभिः ससन्नाहतुरंगैर्भटैः परिवृतो वर्मावृतः स्वाधिकारनियुक्तपरि-जनयुक्तोनुसरतु किं बहुना समुचितज्ञे ॥ "

From the above passage we get some Sanskrit equivalents of terms denoting the artillery and its equipment. *Yantraśālā* is evidently the place or building where the guns and their accessories were stored.

1. The following reference to the use of fireworks at Vijayanagar is noteworthy : A. D. 1442. 'Abdur Razzāq, the ambassador from the Court of Sultan Shāh Rukh who stayed in Vijayanagar from end of *April A. D. 1443 till the 5th of December A. D. 1443* during the reign of Devarāya II mentions the use *of pyrotechny* in the *Mahānavamī festival* (See Elliot. *His. of India*, IV. pp. 117-118). Perhaps in the pyrotechny referred to above gunpowder may have been used. According to Sir P. C. Ray (*His. of Hindu Chemistry* Vol. I, p. 100 f. n. 4). " Saltpetre has been in use from time immemorial as the basis of Rocket and other *fireworks* both in China and India. "

2 *Śiva-caritra-vṛtta Saṃgraha* (Khaṇḍa I—Kānaḍi Vibhāga) B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1938, p. 4. The author of the poem *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājavijayam* is Govinda Vaidya. He was a resident of Srirangapattan and a court-poet of the Mysore kings. He wrote this poem at the instance of Nanjarājendra, the general of Kaṇṭhīravanarasarāya in the Śaka year 1570 (Sarvadhāri Saṃvatsara) = A. D. 1648. He was a Smārta Brahmin, well versed in Sanskrit and Kanarese languages. His patron, K. Narasarāja ruled from A. D. 1638–1659.

3 Vide Dr. M. M. PATKAR's article in IHQ, XIV, No. 1, pp. 153-57.

Gulikāṅgāra Cūrṇa means gunpowder and reminds us of the term *agnicūrṇa* mentioned in the *Śukranīti* as we have seen above. We further get the terms *uṣṭranālikā* meaning portable guns carried on camel's back, *hayanālikā*, those carried on horse-back, and *gajanālikā*, those carried on the back of elephant.

It appears that the term *nālikā* had become current since the importation of guns into India as we find the usage of the term in the above passage from a work of the 18th century. I shall now quote a passage from a 17th century poem called *Śambhurājacarita* composed by Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa[1] in A.D. 1685. The poet describes in the following stanzas of the *Śambhurājacarita* (MS No. 191 of 1875-76) folio 71ᵃ the thundering of guns on the battle-field, where Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji the Great, is shown as being surrounded by the army of the enemy :—

" ततः समभवद्ध्वः प्रहतभूरिभेरीभवः
सुताडनिभनालिकागडगडारवभ्राजितः ।
विलोडितमहीतलो बहलगर्जिताभ्रस्थलो
निनाद इव मेघजः कुलिशरावसंराजितः ॥ २८ ॥ "

Folio 72b—

" सदाश्ववरसंभृतां बहलनालिकासंकुलां
सकंकटभटोद्धतां प्रबलकुंजराडंबरां ।
रणोद्धततुरंगमोद्भ्रमतरंगरंगोत्तरां
चकर्ष परवाहिनीं प्रथितवल्गिनीं स्वां ततः ॥ ७१ ॥ "

Folio 92—

" ततो नृपतिसैन्यतो बहलनालिकावक्त्रतो
महास्वविदारितश्रवणमस्तका निर्ययौ ।
सुगोलकततिर्बलद्द्युमणिमालिकेवोद्गता
रिपुव्रजपताकिनीं सपदि निर्दहन्ती हठात् ॥ ९१ ॥ "

Verse 91 quoted above contains a good description of the series of cannon-balls (*sugolakatati*) issuing from the mouths of cannons (*nālikāvaktrataḥ* ....*udgatā*) and looking like a row of suns, destroying the army of the enemy.

From the 17th century we shall now go to the 16th century and quote a passage from a Sanskrit poem, called the *Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṃśamahākāvya*[2] composed by a *Dākṣiṇātya* poet of the name Rudrakavi at the court of the Bāgalāṇ king Nārāyaṇa Shah in A.D. 1596. In Chapter XX, v. 52

1. Vide my paper on Hari Kavi, *Annals*, Vol XVI, pp. 262-291.

2. *Gaikwad Ori. Series* No. V, Baroda, 1917.

we have the following description of red-hot connon-balls issuing from the mouths of guns :—

" सितशरैरुपलैरथ नालिकाविनिहतज्वलदायसगोलकैः ।
मिलितयोरुभयोरथ सेनयोः प्रववृते समरस्तुमुलस्तयोः ॥ ५२ ॥ "

It appears from the above verse of A.D. 1596 that the iron cannon-ball (*āyasagolakaiḥ*) with which the gun was charged (*nālikāvinihata*) contained within it sharp arrows (*sitaśaraiḥ*) and stones or gravel (*upalaiḥ*). This description finds its analogue in Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's description of guns in the latter part of the 17th century in which he describes guns as machines (*yantrāṇi*) made of iron (*lohamayāni*) and capable of throwing away (*prakṣepakāṇi*) by the force of gunpowder (*āgneyauṣadhabalena*) balls of lead (*sīsa*), bell-metal (*kāṃsya*) and stones (*dṛṣadgola*).

A further reference to *nālikā* is found in a work called the Ākāśabhairavatantra [1] which appears to have been composed during the prosperous days of the Vijayanagar Empire, most probably before A.D. 1550. In the 60th chapter of this encyclopaedic work the king is advised to worship 32 weapons on a particular day. Among these weapons *nālikā* is mentioned as No. 23 :—

Folio 189 (of B. O. R. I. MS No. 43 of 1925–26).

" *Trayoviṃśam nālikāstram svāstikam tadanantaram* "

As Abdul Razzāq, who visited the Vijayanagar Court in A.D. 1443 mentions the use of *pyrotechny* at the Mahānavamī festival, the use of gunpowder appears to have been current in the Vijayanagar Empire about the middle of the 15th Century and this fact would justify our interpretation that the expression " *nālikāstra* " in the above passage means a gun and nothing else, especially in view of the reference to musketeers and gunners about A.D. 1482 used by Mahmood Begurra in cannonading the city of Champaner.

In the Deccan also the use of gunpowder appears to have been introduced about 10 years earlier than that made in the siege of Champaner in 1482 A.D. Mahmud Gawan during his second campaign against *Belgam* in A.D. 1472 made use of mines successfully to make a breach in the walls of

1. In a paper submitted by me to the Karnatak Historical Conference (May 1938) I have proved that the work called the Ākāśabhairavatantra (MS No. 43 of 1925-26 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute) has nothing to do with Tantra, but that it is a work dealing with the inner life of the kings of Vijayanagar in elaborate detail and bearing on all its aspects, civil, religious, political and cultural. The original of this copy is in the Tanjore MSS Library.

the fort. The account of this campaign[1] given to us by Prof. SHERWANI on the authority of *Burhānu-l-ma'āthir*[2] and *Ferishta*[3] reads as follows:— "*Second campaign*; *Belgām*—1472: The Khwajah informs the King that Parketah of Belgām and the chief of Bankāpur want to raise an insurrection and invade Goa and offers to lead the expedition himself, but His Majesty decides to command the expedition in person and orders a vast army to be collected at the capital. Immediately when everything is ready he marches direct to Belgām, a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep moat full of water. Besieging the place he orders that the moat should be filled up with rubble and wood in order to facilitate the entry of the royal army when time comes; but the Khwajah's work to that end in the day is frustrated by the Rai's men during the night as they clear the moat of the rubble under cover of darkness. On this the whole strategy is changed and *mines* are laid under the wall of the fort under cover of a new wall erected parallel to the former and *as this laying of mines is entirely a new thing in the Deccan*, the Rai is not aware of the significance of the new walls being created. Anyhow *three mines*, those from the posts of the Khwajah Yusuf 'Adil Khān and Faṭ-hu'llāh " Imādu'lmulk burst open the wall and breaches are effected. "

As stated in the above account the laying of mines for bursting open the walls of forts was a new thing in the Deccan in A.D. 1472. The use of mines presumes the importation of gunpowder or its manufacture in India, if such manufacture could be proved to have been carried out in the 15th century in Gujarat, Deccan and at the Vijayanagar court.

From A.D. 1472 we now go to A.D. 1405, when *guns* were available in Bengal according to an account of Mahaun, a Chinaman[4] who visited Bengal at that time and who was attached as an interpreter to the suite

1. Vide pp. 203ff. of the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. XVI. Article by Prof. H. K. SHERWANI on "Mahmud Gawan's Campaigns in the Maharashtra."

2. Published by the Persian Texts Society, Hyderabad (Deccan). It contains a number of diplomatic letters to the kings of Gujarat and Jaunpur as well as to the rulers of Turkey, Persia, Hirāt etc.

3. Ferishta's History of India was written at Bijapur in the time of Ibrahim Ādilshah II (1579-1626).

4. Vide *JRAS* 1895, Mahaun's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala (Bengal) by Geo. PHILIPS, pp. 522ff. Cheng Ho was ordered to go on the expedition in the 6th month of the year 1405. The party visited Cochin China, Straits and India and gave presents to the princes and chiefs. Mahaun has given us an account of 20 kingdoms visited by the expedition. Mahaun's *Travels* are just like those of Marco Polo, Friar Odoric and Ibn Battuta. Mahaun's book contains also an account of Calicut, Ormus, Aden, the Maldives and many other places in the Indian Ocean.

of Cheng Ho, sent by the Chinese Emperor, Yung-lo with a party of 30,000 soldiers in a fleet of 62 ships to the various kingdoms of the Western Ocean in order to show that China was rich and strong. Mahaun describes the language of the people as Bengāli and states that Persian also was spoken in Bengal. He states that " not having any tea they offer their guests the betel-nut in its place. " He further records: " The mulberry tree and silk worms are found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, GUNS, knives and scissors are all to be had there. They manufacture a white paper from the bark of a tree, which is smooth and glossy like a deer's skin. "

The reference to "GUNS" in the above extract is very important as it proves that *guns* were to be seen in Bengal about 1406 A.D. when Mahaun visited the country. This reference, therefore, takes the antiquity of GUNS in India and consequently of gunpowder upto say 1400 A.D. I shall feel grateful if any scholar publishes references to GUNS or *gunpowder* in Indian literature earlier than A.D. 1400.

I shall now summarize in chronological order the references to guns, gunpowder, mines, etc. recorded by me, in the following lines :—

European References

A.D. 1325 — Picture of a *gun* in an Oxford MS.
A.D. 1326 — *Guns* in France and Florence.

Indian References

A.D. 1406 — References to " *guns* " in Bengal by Mahaun, a Chinese Interpreter.
A.D. 1443 — " Pyrotechny " at Vijayanagar Court mentioned by Abdul Razzaq.
A.D. 1472 — Use of " *mines* " at the siege of Belgām in the Deccan (for the first time) by Mahmud Gawan.
A.D. 1482 — A force of *musketeers* and *gunners* at the siege of the fort of Champaner by Mahmud Begda.
A.D. 1528 — Baber's use of *cannon* and *gunpowder* near Kanauj.
A.D. 1596 — *Nālikā* = Gun, mentioned by Rudrakavi, the Court-poet of Nārāyan Shah of Bāglan.
A.D. 1648 — References to *guns* carried on carts together with bags of gunpowder by Govinda Vaidya.
A.D. 1685 — Hari Kavi's description of guns (= *nālikā*) and gunfire in the *Śambhurājacarita*.

A. D. 1764 — Dalapatirāya's Sanskrit draft of a letter to be addressed by a king to his *analādhyakṣa* or the officer-in-charge of artillery to keep the *yantraśālā* ready for action.

I believe the above references would be found sufficiently authentic and instructive as they take the antiquity of the use of guns and gunpowder in India upto, say, 1400 A. D. I shall be happy to know from veteran researchers any references to *guns* and *gunpowder* as used in India between A.D. 1300 and 1400.

P. S.— Since this article was sent to the press I have been able to note a few more references to Guns. These are as follows :—

(1) Three iron *Guns* bearing inscriptions and recording the names of Fāruqi Kings Mubārik and Adil Shāh. One is dated 1554-5 A. D. while another is dated possibly 1589 A.D. (Vide p. 73 of *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* by HIRA LAL, Nagpur, 1916). *Item 102*—Khandwa Gun Inscriptions— *Item 94* on p. 68— Asirgadh Gun Inscriptions (a bronze gun made at Burhanpur in A. D. 1663 and another in A. D. 1664.)

(2) Barbosa (A. D. 1515) refers to riders of elephants with bows, arrows and *handguns* (Vide p. 259 of *History of Gujarat* by COMMISSARIAT, Vol. I, 1938).

(3) The *Campūbhārata* of Anantakavi (c. 1500 A. D.) describes gunfire as follows (Stabaka III, v. 54 — p. 113 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1903) :—

" कालाम्बुदालिनलिकाक्षणदीप्तिवर्त्यां
संधुक्षितासपदि सध्वनि निःसरद्भिः ।
वर्षाद्भमसीसगुलिकानिकरैः कठोरै-
र्धर्मोभियातिमवधीद्धनकाल चोचः ॥ ५४ ॥ "

(4) Prof. RAMANAYYA (Vide p. 120 of *Vijayanagar : Third Dynasty*) states that the Vijayanagar army was weak in artillery, which comprised a corps of musketeers and several cannon. The Mussalmans made use of artillery fully with the help of Turkish gunners trained in European wars.

(5) Sir E. Denison Ross (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, 1928) refers to guns (p. 220), shot and ball (p. 453), broken gun-carriage (p. 497), five hundred brass guns in the army of Gujarat (p. 568), 12000 muskets in Gujarat, etc.

(6) On November 1, 1526 Baber witnessed the casting of a gun by Ustād Ali Kuli (Vide pp. 343-344 of *Memoirs of Baber* by ERSKINE, London, 1826).

(7) In the Rabari Songs of Kathiawar recorded by B. L. MANKAD, p. 66 of *Bombay Univ. Jour.* VII (New Series) Pt. IV, we find a reference to guns in connection with a marriage party :—

" Drums are beaten and *guns are fired* as the bride-groom's marriage party starts from the house of the bride. "

(8) Principal Dr. BALKRISHNA sometime ago published an article on *Fire arms in the Mahābhārata* in the Rajaram College Magazine called the *Rajaramian*. Dr. V. S. SUKHTHANKAR has shown to me a reprint of it but I have not examined the views of Dr. BALKRISHNA stated in this article.

(9) About Saltpetre, vide pp. 66-67 of *The Travels of John Albert de Mandelso from Persia into East Indies* (London, 1669). Sir P. C. RAY regards this as the earliest account of Saltpetre on a commercial scale, (vide *Hindu Chemistry* I, p. 100). Regarding *Transport of Saltpetre in India in the Seventeenth Century* by Land and Sea, vide *Jour. of Beh. and Orissa Res. Society*, XXV, Pt. I (March, 1939)— article by J. N. SARKAR, Feb. 6th, 1627—about Rs. 2,500 were exacted from the English factories at Surat as taxes on Saltpetre and Sugar conveyed by a caravan.

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2. The Manufacture and Use of Fire-arms in India between A. D. 1450 and 1850 *

In my paper on the "*Use of Guns and Gun-powder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards*" contributed to the *Sir E. Denison Ross Volume* (pages 117–124), I have recorded a few references on this subject, which clarify to some extent the history and chronology of the use of guns and gun-powder in India. I propose in this paper to record some more data bearing on the subject, which, it is hoped, will be useful to scholars who intend to write on the history of fire-arms in India and allied topics.

(1) *RAM CHANDRA KAK* in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933) records the political history of Kashmir. In his account of the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin (A. D. 1421-1472) he gives us the following information about *fireworks and fire arms* :–

(a) *Page 36*—"The King (Zain-ul-Abidin) himself composed two works in Persian, the first being a *treatise* in the form of questions and answers on the *manufacture of Fire-works* and the second entitled *Shikayat* (the Plaint) a poem, etc."

(b) *Page 38*—"He gave a strong impetus to the *Manufacture* of paper, shawls, and embroidered tapestry, for which Kashmir has always been famous. He promoted the silk industry by inviting weavers from Khurasan and settling them in the country. *It was in his reign, in the year A. D. 1466 that fire-arms were first introduced in Kashmir.*"

The above references to *fire-works* and *fire-arms* are in harmony with the references to guns and gun-powder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards recorded by me in my paper referred to above.

(2) In the *Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum* (Madras, 1938) Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan has recorded some information about the professions of the Italians in India in the 16th and 17th centuries. In this information I find the following references to *Italian Artillery makers* :—

Page 22—"A Milanese gunner who died in Lahore in 1597" left "all his books to the (Jesuit) fathers (of the mission to the Mogul Country) including some *technical works on the founding of Cannon and on Siege operations.*" (See

* *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. IX (Munshi Volume), pp. 201 ff.

page 192 of Maclagan's *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932).

Page 26 — Among three or four Christians employed at Agra in *A. D.* 1632 there was one Venetian *Angelo Gradenigo*, employed by Jehangir in his court as cook and probably as *maker of artillery* (*Mundy*, ii, 208, n. 3).

Page 27 — *Niccolao Manucci*, a Venetian, who reached India in 1656 A. D., entered services as an artillery-man under Dara Shukoh. He became Captain of *Artillery* to (Mirza) Raja Jaising of Amber, marched to the Dekhan and saw Shivaji in 1665. He died about 1720 (See Intro. p. 67 to *Storia do Mogor*, Translation by W. Erwine, London, 1907–1908).

Sometime before A. D. 1672, among the thousand brass and iron pieces of great *Cannon* mounted on the walls and gates of Bijapur, there was one carrying not less than 540 pound weight of gun-powder cast by a *native of Rome*, who when questioned by one of the king's Commissioners about the money he had disbursed upon this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before. (vide p. 602 of Baldaeus P.—*A True and Exact Description of the most celebrated East India Coasts of Malbar and Coromandel* — Trans. Vo III — London, 1703).

Page 29 — Petro Paulo, who worked as a Carmelite friar in India, wrote to Manucci in A. D. 1680 that " he knew about a *Match lock that could be fired five to seven times after only once loading it, and whenever he chose to do so.*" (See Manucci, IV, 112–3).

Page 31 — *About A. D.* 1625 " Handsome musket barrels wrought with gold and set with agates of various colours in which heads are carved were also brought here overland by the Venetians. " (Vide p. 26 of Pelsaert's Travels—Trans. by W. A. Moreland).

(3) Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri records the following verses of a Sanskrit poetess Gauri, which describe a weapon called भुशण्डी (Vide p. 9 of *Sanskrit Poetesses* Vol. II, Part A, Calcutta, 1939) :—

(1) " महाचण्डीव संभाति भुशण्डी भवतः करे ।
प्रतापज्वरसंभ्रांतगोलिका जीवहारिणी ॥ ४ ॥ "

" (O, King !) the Bhuśaṇḍī — the destroyer of beings and filled with *cannon balls*, that are shining with

brilliant prowess,—is shining in your hand like the great goddess of destruction."

(2) "वह्निचूर्णपरिपूर्णनितान्त—
गोलिका गरलवक्त्रविकासा ॥
बाहुभीषणभुजङ्गभृतेयं
भाति दुष्टभुजगीव भुशण्डी ॥ ५ ॥"

"With its yawning mouth, poisonous by reason of the *cannon balls* that are filled with fiery powder this Bhuśaṇḍī shines (in the hand of the King) just like a malignant snake (shining in the hand of one (i. e. Śiva) who wears dreadful snakes on his arms."

It appears from the two verses of Gaurī quoted above that the weapon "Bhuśaṇḍī" in the hand of the King is either a musket or a small portable piece of Cannon. As Gaurī is quoted by Veṇīdatta (A. D. 1644) we may conclude that she is earlier than about A. D. 1625. According Dr. Chaudhuri the lower limit of her date is 17th Century A. D. (See p. IX of the Intro.). As Gaurī mentions fire-arms we may safely infer that she is later than about 1400 A. D. We may tentatively fix her date between A. D. 1400 and 1600.

(4) Saint Tukārāma of Mahārāṣṭra possibly refers to bullets or Cannon-balls (गोळ्या) in the following extract;—

"देव राखे तया मारील कोण
तुका म्हणे नारायण। येतां गोळ्या वारी बाण ॥ २ ॥"

(Abhaṅga No. 2927 in तुकाराम-गाथा, Bombay.)

Tukārāma flourished between A. D. 1608 and 1649.

(5) Raghunātha Paṇḍita in his *Rājavyavahāra Kośa* composed by the order of Shivaji the Great about A. D. 1676 refers to the terminology about fire-arms in the Śastravarga (verses 129—131) as follows :-

"यन्त्रव्यूहस्तवराखा स्याद् बाणोऽग्निनलिका भवेत् ॥ १२९ ॥
नालिकं बरकंदाजे नलीयन्त्रं तु बन्दुकम् ।
तोफ नाम भवेदुल्का दारू नामाग्निचूर्णकम् ॥ १३० ॥
लघुयन्त्रं जबर्जंगं जम्बूरा तु शतघ्निका ।
दीप्तिनीडं भवेत् काना गोलंदाजु यन्त्रवेधकः ॥ १३१ ॥"

(Vide p. 155 of शिवचरित्रप्रदीप, Poona, 1925)

In the above extract the terms बराखा, बाण, बरकंदाज, बन्दुक, तोफ, दारू, जबर्जंग, जम्बूरा, काना, and गोलंदाज are either Persian or Arabic. Their Sanskrit equivalents have been given by Raghunātha Paṇḍita.

(6) Bernier in his *Travels* (A. D. 1656) has recorded many observations about the artillery of Aurangzeb and that of the Mogol army (See Constable's edition of *Travels*, London, 1891). I note below some points from these remarks :—

Page 217:— Musketeers squat on the ground and rest their muskets on a *wooden fork* which hangs to them —afraid of an evil spirit causing the bursting of their musket, which may burn their eyes and long beards — Monthly pay of musketeers is Rs. 20, 15 and 10 — Artillery men receive great pay. Particularly all the *Franguis* or Christians, *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, and *French*; fugitives from Goa, and from the Dutch and English Companies. Formerly when the Mogols were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the Europeans was more liberal and there are still some remaining who receive Rs. 200/— a month; but now the King admits them with difficulty into the service and limits their pay to Rs. 32/—

Two Kinds of Artillery :— (1) Heavy and light or Artillery of the Stirrup.

Heavy artillery :— 70 pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, 200/300 camels, each carrying a field piece of the *size of a double musket* attached on the back of the camel.

Page 218:— *Artillery of the Stirrup* :—

50 or 60 field pieces of brass, each mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted *carriage*, with *2 ammunition chests*, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of *red streamers*. The carriage, with the driver was drawn by 2 fine horses and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay.

The *heavy Artillery* could not move along difficult passes or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. The *light Artillery* is always intended to be near the King's person and on that account takes the name of the *Artillery of the Stirrup*.—When the king arrives at any place of encampment, the guns ranged already in front of the King's quarters fire a volley by way of signal to the army.

Page 219:— *Infantry*— About 15,000 in the army immediately about the King, including *Musketeers*, foot *Artillery*, etc.

Page 352:— *The heavy Artillery* consists of 70 pieces mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that 20 yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along and some, when the road is steep or rugged, require the aid of elephants in addition to the oxen, to push the carriage-wheels with their heads and trunks.

Page 277.—Description of an elephant fight —

Use of *Charkys* (or fire-works) to separate fighting elephants—the elephants have a particular dread of fire; they have been used with very little advantage in armies since the use of fire-arms—The boldest elephants come from Ceylon but those only, that are accustomed for years to the discharge of muskets close to their heads and the bursting of Crackers between their legs, are employed in war.

(*Charkhi* or a wheel on the end of a stick is a common fire-work in Northern India).[1]

(7) Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (*C. A. D. 1590*) makes the following remarks about *Artillery* of Emperor Akbar (Vide pp. 91–95 of Gladwin's Trans. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1897) :—

" *The Artillery*—These are the locks and keys of empire ; and excepting Room, no Kingdom can compare with this in the number and variety of its ordnance.

Some pieces of *cannon* are so large as to carry a *ball of twelve Maunds* ; and others require each *several elephants* and a *thousand bullocks* for their transportation.

His Majesty gives a *great deal of attention to this department*, and has appointed to it *Daroghahs* and Clerks.

He has *invented several kinds*, some of which are so contrived as to take to pieces for the convenience of carriage, and when the army halts they are nicely put together again. Also *seventeen pieces* are so united as to be *discharged by one match*. There are others which can be easily trans-

1. Bernier refers to " *Bannes* " (Bāṇa or rocket) on p. 48 of the *Travels*, used for frightening the horses in the battle. He explains " *bannes* " as a " *sort of granade attached to a stick.*" I shall study in a separate paper the usage of the term *Bāṇa* (बाण) as applied to a *fire-work* or *fire-arm*, say between A. D. 1450 and 1850. It is for linguists to say whether the sense of " fire-work" or "fire-arm" has been grafted on the Sanskrit word ' बाण ' which means an arrow.

ported by one elephant and they are called "*Gujnal.*" Others can be carried by a single man and are called *Nurnal.*

It has been wisely ordered that a sufficient train of *artillery be placed in each Subah.*

The *cannon* for *battery, and boats* and those, which are fit *for journies* are kept separate. It would be impossible to innumerate them; and skilful *artists* are continually making new ones especially *Gujnals* and *Nurnals.*

In this department *Omrahs* and *Ahdyan* receive *large salaries.*

Rules observed in making fire-arms for his Majesty's *use* :—

Bundooks (i. e. match-locks) are now made in such a manner that when filled with powder up to the muzzle there is *no fear of their bursting.* Formerly, they never were of more than *four folds* of iron: and sometimes only of one, joined together by the two extremities of the breadth, and which were very dangerous. His Majesty after having the *iron flattened, has it rolled up like a scroll of paper but slantingly* and every fold is passed through the fire. There is also the following method :— *Solid pieces of iron* are properly tempered and then bored with iron borer and *three or four of these are joined together to form a Bundook. The smallest Bundooks* that are made are *two spans long* and the *longest near two ells.* That of one ell and a quarter is called *Demanik* and its stock is made differently from the others. Some are made to fire without a match, merely by giving a little *motion to the trigger.* And they make some balls that will do execution like a sword.

There are a great number of skilful artists in this department, the chief of whom are *Ostad Kebeer* and *Hussain.* In preparing the iron for Bundooks half is lost in the fire. When the lengths are made and before they are joined together they are *stamped with figures*, expressing the quantity of crude iron and the quantity remaining; and in this state it is called *Dowl.* This is sent for His Majesty's inspection and the weight of the ball being determined, the bore is made accordingly. The *Bundook* ball is never larger than twenty five Tanks nor less than fifteen; but excepting His Majesty no body is bold enough to fire off one of the largest. When the bore is finished it is again carried to the Harem. From thence it is brought out again, and set in an old stock and filled with powder till within a third of the muzzle. If it stands this proof it is carried again to his Majesty. Then the muzzle is finished, after which it is again put into an old stock as before mentioned, and tried at a mark. If it does not carry true, they heat it and straighten it by means of a wooden rod. Then

in the royal presence it is delivered to the *filer*, who fashions the outside as he is directed. When this is done, the barrel is again carried to His Majesty, when the wood and form of the stock are determined. In this stage the figures, marking the weight of the crude and of the prepared iron, are effaced, and in their room are engraven the maker's name, the place, the month and the year. Next are made the *trigger*, the *ramrod* and *primer*. After all these are finished, the piece is again ordered to be proved. If it is found to carry true, it is again brought to the Harem along with five balls. In this state it is called *Sadeh* (or plain). The colour of the barrel and stock is next determined and when the colouring is finished, it is called *Rungeen* (or coloured). It is now sent again into the Harem with five more balls. His Majesty fires it four times and returns it back again with the fifth ball. When ten of these *Rungeen muskets* are collected together they are ordered to be inlaid with gold and are afterwards sent to the Harem as before described. And when ten such are completely finished, they are committed to the care of *Cheeyleh*.

A description of the Barghu:—Formerly it required a great many men, with a number of iron tools to *polish the Bundooks*; but His Majesty has invented a *wheel*, which is turned by a single bullock and *polishes sixteen muskets* in a very short time.

Of the ranks of the Royal Bundooks :—

Bundooks are etither made in the *royal workshops* or are bought or are received in present. *His Majesty* out of a thousand of those of different kinds selects *one hundred and five* for his own particular use, which are used in the following manner:—viz. *twelve* are named after the months and are brought to him alternately, so that each comes in use once a year; *thirty* others are changed every week; and *thirty-two* are used alternately every day of a solar month; and the remaining *thirty-two* are for the *Kowtel*. *His Majesty fires every day*, and after he has discharged a piece four times, it is sent out and exchanged for another.

It is also a rule that the clerks of the Chase take *an account of all the game that is shot by His Majesty and with what particular piece*, from whence it appears that with the *musket* called *Sungram*, which is the *first in rank of the Khaseh muskets* and appropriated for the month of *Ferverdin* (i. e. March), there have been killed *one thousand one hundred game* of various kinds.

The pay of the Bundookchyan :—

His Majesty has fixed the *pay* of the Merdahs after *four rates* viz., first *300 Dams*; Second *280 Dams*; third *270 Dams*; fourth *260 Dams* and

the pay of others at *five rates*, each of which are divided into *highest*, *middle* and *lowest*.

First Rate :—	Highest	Dams	250
	Middle	Dams	240
	Lowest	Dams	230
Second Rate :—	Highest	,,	220
	Middle	,,	210
	Lowest	,,	200
Third Rate :—	Highest	Dams	190
	Middle	,,	180
	Lowest	,,	170
Fourth Rate :—	Highest	,,	160
	Middle	,,	150
	Lowest	,,	140
Fifth Rate :—	Highest	,,	130
	Middle	,,	120
	Lowest	,,	110 "

These are the remarks of Abul Fazl on Akbar's *Artillery*. They are very important for the history of the *Manufacture of Fire-Arms in India*. We notice in these remarks the personal attention of Akbar to every detail of this manufacture because *Artillery* was regarded by him as "*the locks and keys of the Empire*" as Abul Fazl puts it. Other details of the Artillery department recorded in these remarks speak for themselves. They may be useful to us for comparison with similar details pertaining to the use of Artillery by the Marathas and the English in 17th and 18th Centuries. Unless we bring together all data pertaining to the use of fire-arms in India, we can have no true vision of their history in India.

(8) Rāmachandrapant Amātya (A. D. 1650–1733), who had a close knowledge of the Maratha administration under the Maratha Kings, Sri Shivāji Mahārāja and his sons Sambhāji and Rājārām, composed his celebrated *Ājñāpatra* dealing with Maratha Polity. It is dated *21st November 1716*. In this elaborate document we find some references about *fire-arms* as used by the Marathas. I note some of these references from its Edition by Prof. V. G. Urdhvareshe, Indore, 1939 :—

Page 7 :— In the description of Shivāji's हुजरात or standing army reference is made to the following items :-

(1) Employment by Shivāji of trustworthy musketeers (बन्दुकी,) bowmen (तिरंदाज) etc. and their equipment.

(2) Equipment of all forts with दारूगोळी, बाण, होके, भांडीं, etc.

(3) For Cavalry, ताजी, आरबी, इराकी and कछी horses were maintained.[1]

(4) The तोफखाना or artillery, consisted of the following items :-

(i) बन्दुकी = Musketeers

(ii) रामचंग्या = a kind of gun

(iii) दुराम्या = long-range guns

(iv) फिलनाक (or फिलनाळा) = a gun mounted on an elephant.

(v) शुतरनाळा = A gun mounted on a *Camel*

(vi) गाड्यावरील-भांडीं = Guns on wheeled carriages

(vii) करोल = Mounted musketeers

(viii) होके (हुका or हुक्का) = Vessels filled with gunpowder or bombs, or बाण or सुरुंग.

Page 17 : — हुजरात should consist of लश्कर, माहाव, हशम, बंदुकी (musketeers), विरंदाजी and करोल (mounted musketeers).

Page 18 : — Weapons to be kept ready are :—
तरवारा, कटारा, जमदाडा, पट्टे, भाले, बाक, बिचवे, सेल्या, टाकण्या, तिरकमाना, बंदुकी (muskets). Other equipment consisted of —
बख्तरे, धुंग्या, टोप, दुपट्टे, चिलखतें, पाखरा, ताज, हुके,[2] दारूगोळी (muskets), बाण, etc.

Pages 40-43 :— Chapter on Forts and their equipment consisting of भांडीं, जुंबरे (जंबुरे) small Bandooks.

Instructions regarding the care and upkeep of ordnance :—

(i) दारूखाना should be kept away from residential quarters.

(ii) The cellar of the दारूखाना should contain दारूचे बस्ते (big bags of gunpowder) as also मडके (earthen pots) full of it.

(iii) बाण, होके, etc. should be kept in the Central room of the Cellar, free from moisture.

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1. Cf. राजव्यवहारकोश (अश्ववर्ग) – Verses 164-168 mention the following horses :—
निळा = कर्क, बोर = शोण, कुमेत = श्यामल, अंबरी = मेघवर्णक, अबलख = कर्बुर, बरदा = पिङ्गल, अबशा = व्याघ्रवर्ण, कराडा = पाटल, रहवाल = सैन्धव, इराणी = यावन, अरबी = पारसीक, कच्छी = यवन, मुजिन्नस = विजातीय, बहरी = बाल्हीक, ताजी = मद्रज, ठाकण = पर्वतीय, तेजी = तेजस्वी, तुरकी = वल्गन.

2. Briggs in the *Feristha* (Vol. IV, P. 63, Cal. 1910) explains "Hooka" as Shell.

(iv) Every fortnight the Havaldar should take out दारू, बाण होके and heat them in the sun and again keep them in the cellar duly *sealed* (मुद्रा करून).

(v) The दारूखाना should be guarded day and night by special guards, who should not allow any one to approach without permission.

(vi) As forts can be protected only by भांडीं and बन्दुका, gunners should be maintained.

(vii) Officers on the fort such as तटसरनोबत, बारगीर, सद्रसरनोबत, and हवालदार should practise the use of muskets (बंदुकी) and भांडीं (cannons).

(viii) भांडीं, जंबुरे, चरक्या, etc. should be kept at strategic points on the fort at different towers (बुरुज).

(ix) The gun-carts (भांडियांचे गाडे), चरक (grindstone for sharpening weapons) and भांडीं (cannons) should be installed on strong iron bases (मजबूत लोखंडी कट).

(x) दारूच्या खलित्या (bags of gun-powder), गज (iron rods), भांडे निवावयाच्या कुंच्या (covers for cooling the cannons), गोळे (cannon-balls), कीट (burnt metal) etc., small stones from the river of the size of a betel nut, बाणाच्या पलाता (फाळ), जामग्या (wicks for firing off the cannons), तरका (iron sheet attached to बाण), सामते (instruments for boring holes) for repairing the holes of cannons (काने) etc. — all this equipment should be always ready for use near the cannons (भांडीं).

(xi) Articles of iron and stone (अहिनी, दगडी जिन्नस) may be kept near the gun-powder.

(xii) होके, बाण should also be kept ready at all places, where guards are posted.

(xiii) During the rainy season all the pieces of cannon with their openings and crevices should be coated with oil and wax. Their angular crevices (कोने) should be filled with wax. All the pieces of cannon should be provided with covers (बाचाडी) to protect them against damage. Other equipment also should be kept well protected against moisture.

(xiv) Brave and trustworthy artillery men (गोलंदाज) with families (कबिलेदार), should be employed in adequate number commensurate with the needs and artillery equipment of each fort. These men should be expert marksmen (नेमका लागा दुरस्त मारणार असे).

Page 44 — *Chapter on Navy* (आरमार)

The navy should be provided with brave men, equipped with मोर्ती, जंबुरे, बंदुका, दारुगोळी, हुके etc.

Page 46 — The enemy should be kept under naval fire (भांडियाचा मार) on all sides (चौगीर्द वेढून).

Page 47 — The enemy should be kept terror-struck by destroying his ships with naval cannonading.

The foregoing notes amply show the use of fire-arms by the Marathas in the 17th century. They also reveal the importance attached to *artillery* by Shivaji the Great and his ministers in war-fare on land and sea. I do not, however, notice in them any reference to the *manufacture* of cannons and muskets as I find in the Section on Artillery in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. I wonder if any of the early Maratha rulers devoted any personal attention to the *manufacture of fire-arms* as Emperor Akbar did.

(9) In the *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (London, 1903) we get some information about *fire-arms* as follows :—

Page 37 :— Article on *ARSENAL* — the following extract refers to the manufacture of *cannon* and *gun-powder* at *Fez*.

A. D. 1573 — " In this city (Fez) there is a very great building which they call *Darcana*, where the Christian captives used to labour at blacksmith's work and other crafts under the superintendence and orders of renegade headmen..........*here they made cannon and powder* and wrought *swords*, *cross-bows* and *arquebusses*, — *Marmol Desc. General de Africa*, lib, iii, f. 92.

Page 354 :— Article on *FIRINGHEE*:—

A. D. 1673 — " The *Artillery* in which the Fringis are listed, formerly for good pay, now very ordinary, having not above 30 or 40 rupees a month. "

— *Fryer*, 195

Pages 127–128 :— " *BUNDOOK* ", s. H. *Bandūk* from *Ar. Bunduk*. The common H. term for a musket or match-lock. The history of the word is very curious. *Bunduk*, Pl. *banādik*

was a name applied by the Arabs to filberts (as some allege) because they came from Venice. (*Banâdik*, comp. German *Venedig*). The name was transferred to the nut-like pellets shot from *cross-bows*, and thence the *cross-bows* or *arblasts* were called '*bunduk*' elliptically for *Kaus al-b.* 'pellet-bow.' *From Cross-bows the name was transferred again to fire-arms* as in the parallel case of *arquebus* (Al-Bandukâni, 'the man of the pellet-bow' was one of the names by which the Caliph Hârûn al-Rashid was known, and Al Zahir Baybars al-Bandukdâri, the fourth Baharite Soldan (A. D. 1260–77) was so entitled, because he had been slave to a Bandukdâr, or *Master of Artillery* (*Burton Ar. Nights*, xii, 38).

(*1845*—"*Banduquis*, or orderlies of the Maharaja carrying *long guns in a loose red-cloth cover*"–*Drew, Gumoo and Kashmir.*

Page 935 :— *TOPE-KHANA.* s. The Artillery, the Artillery park, or Ordnance Department, Turco-Pers. *Top-khânâ*, "Cannon-house" or 'Cannon-department.' The word is the same that appears in reports from Constantinople as the *Tophaneh.* Unless the traditions of Donna Tofana are historical, we are strongly disposed to suspect that *Aqua Tofana* may have had its name from this word.

1687—"*The Toptchi*" —These are Gunners, called so from the word *Tope*, which in Turkish signifies cannon, and are in number about 1200 distributed in 52 chambers, their quarters are at *Tophana* or the place of Guns in the suburbs of Constantinople."

— *Rycaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire*

1726— "Isfandar Chan, Chief of the Artillery (called the Daroger of the '*Topscanna*')."

— *Valentyn, iv, (Surate) 276.*

1765— "He and his troops knew that by the treachery of the *Tope Khonnah Droger* (Daroga) the cannon were loaded with powder only."

— Holwell, *Hist. Events, etc.* i. *96.*

10. Capt. Edward Moor in his "*Narrative*" about the siege of Dharwar (A. D. 1794, London) records some *account of the city of Bijapur*

(Chap XXIII). In this account he devotes some pages to the description of the great guns at Bijapur (Pages 322-323). Some points from this description may be noted below :—

(a) —Enormous size of the guns he saw at Bijapur.

(b) —Moor measured 3 guns—Formerly all towers had guns, from which only 12 remained.

(c) —Measurements of the *Malabar gun* on the South Eastern side of the fort (See p. 322)— Length from breech to muzzle = 21 *feet*—5 *inches*— Diameter at the breech = 4 feet, 5 inches.

(d) —Short gun near the above monster called *Cutcha -Butcha.*

(e) — Moolk e' *Meidan*, largest gun on a tower on the south-western side with an inscription of *A. D. 1685* by Alum Geer, commemorating his conquest of Bijapur (see plate opposite p. 322)— Several Inscriptions on it in Arabic, and one Persian — Several stone shot lying near the gun — also its rammer, which is like a mast.

(f) —The gun on *Coperee-boorj* called *Lumcherree* or *Far-flyer* 30 ft. 3½ inches × 9 ft.–2 inches at breech.

(g) —*Measurements of Moolk e' Meidan*:—

Diameter at the breech —	4 feet,	10½	inches
muzzle —	4 ,,	8	,,
of the bore —	2 ,,	4	,,
length —	14 ,,	1	,,
Circumference in the middle —	13 ,,	7	,,

Moor observes:—

" The first and last of these guns are constructed of bars of *iron*, hooped round, not upon carriages, but lying upon blocks of wood. The *brass gun* is fixed on its centre on an immense iron inserted in the ground and grasping its trunnions in the manner of a swivel, breech resting on a block of wood, supported by a thick wall, so that it cannot recoil when fired.

Besides the inscriptions, the brass gun has several ornamental devices upon it, particularly about the muzzle, where, if we recollect right, a lion and a tiger are fighting, and one of their mouths expanded forms the muzzle of the gun, in a manner, to our recollection,

not very clear. About the fort we saw several small guns cast of brass, and curiously inlaid with gold and with *tiger mouths*, a plan Tippoo has followed in casting some of his field pieces.

We are told, that there never was but one other gun so large as *Moolk e' Meidan*, which was its sister, *Kurk o Bedjlee*, Thunder and Lightning and that it was *carried to Poona*, and perhaps melted down, as we never heard of it there. "

Pages 420 — 422 — Note XIII :—

" Several writers mention pieces of ordnance as almost incredibly large, but none that we have read of by any means approach *the magnitude of Moolk e' Meidan* and the others here described; which we repeat may be depended upon, as their *dimensions were carefully taken*.

Dow (*History of Hindoostan*, Vol. II, p. 278) mentions two pieces of ordnance capable of receiving a *stone ball of six or seven maunds*, *or one of iron of thirty maunds*. " The size of these guns " he adds in a note, " might be reckoned incredible, did there not *remain to this day in India, pieces of as extraordinary a bore* : particularly *one at Arcot* and *another at Dacca*. " Dow is, we think, deficient in not giving the *maund* by which he estimated the weight of this shot: a maund is a very indefinite term, as it varies in different parts of India, from twenty five pounds, the Madras standard, to seventy four in some parts of Bengal.

Hanway (*Travels in Persia*, Vol. I , page 452) speaking of a *gun in a city of 'Germany*, says, " It is a *brass mortar*, and will carry a *ball of seven hundred and thirty pounds to the distance of thirty-three thousand paces* and throw a *bomb of one thousand weight*. " we do not clearly understand, how it could throw a bomb, by which we imagine a *shell is meant*, of greater weight than a shot, because the latter must necessarily be nearly the same diameter as the Calibre, and solid, which the former is not. Criticism is, however, thrown away upon so extraordinary a relation, which carries impossibility on its face as a very prominent feature : *how can any force of powder impel a ball of any dimensions thirty-three thousand paces ?*, which estimating the pace at two feet and a half, is upward of *fifteen miles*, or at only two feet, is *twelve miles and a half ?*

Rennell in his *Memoir* (page 61) gives the mensuration of the *gun near Dacca*, spoken of by *Dow*; it is now fallen into river, together with the bank on which it rested. " As it may gratify the curiosity of some of my readers, " says the Major, " I have here inserted the dimensions and weight of this gun. I *took the measure very carefully* throughout, and calcula-

ted each part separately. It was *made of hammered iron*, it being *an immense tube formed of fourteen bars with rings of two or three inches wide driven over them* and hammered down into a smooth surface; so that its appearance was equal to that of the *best executed piece of brass ordnance* although its proportions were faulty.

Whole length	22	feet 10½	inches
Diameter at the breech	3	„ 3	„
„ 4 feet from the muzzle	2	„ 10	„
„ at the muzzle	2	„ 2½	„
„ at the bore	1	foot 3½	„

The gun contained 234, *418 cubic inches of wrought iron* and consequently weighed *64, 814 pounds avoirdupoize*; or about the weight of eleven *32* pounders. Weight of an *iron shot* for the gun *465 pounds.*"

Allowing for *windage*, that is the difference of the diameter of a shot and the calibre of the gun, one-twentieth part of the latter, as allowed in the *ordnance tables*, an iron shot for Major Rennell's gun will be in diameter 1 foot 2 inches 37–100ths, and as the *increasing gravity of solid iron globes is as the cube of their diameters*, and as a 42 pounder is in diameter 6 inches 68–100ths, the weight of an iron shot for this gun is consequently *417 pounds* 3–10ths. The calibre of a 42 pounder is 7 inches 3–100 ths; of a 9 pounder 4 inches 21–100 ths; a 9 pounder shot in diameter is 4 inches; therefore *a shot for Cutcha–Butcha*, the gun first described in the text, allowing a calibre of 1 foot 9 inches, to require a shot of 1 foot 8 inches diameter, will weigh *1125 pounds*. For *Lumcheree*, allowing 2 feet 35–100ths of an inch diameter for the shot of its calibre of 1 foot 1 inch it weighs *264 pounds 4–10ths*. For the calibre of *Moolk e' Meidan* 2 feet 4 inches, allow the diameter of the shot to be 1 foot 2 inches 6–100ths, it will weigh *2646* pounds 7–10ths !"[1]

Page 108 :—" On the top of the unfortified hill, one of those unwieldy, enormous pieces of ordnance, called before *Malabar Guns*, was found : it was ornamented with inscriptions and devices, and upon the whole, the hand-

1. Compare the description of the "Great gun of Agra" by Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 600, footnote 2) :—

" A wonderful piece of ordnance known as "the Great Gun" of Agra was taken (by the British). It was a casting in Brass or similar alloy, 14 feet, 2 inches long, with a calibre or bore 23 inches in diameter. It weighed 96,600 pounds and could fire a shot weighing 1500 pounds. When General Lake tried to remove it to Calcutta it sank in the Jumna. Subsequently, Lord William Bentinck caused it to be blown up and sold as old metal. "

somest of this kind of guns that came under the observation of any in our detachment."

Pages 135–136 :— " We are still within hearing of the *Chittledroog morning and evening gun,* which we learned was fired *from a thirtytwo pounder* on the top of the hill. *The custom of firing a morning and evening gun in Tippoo's garrisons,* appears in " Memoirs of the War in Asia, by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment," page 155, to have *commenced in 1793.*

The *hours of firing* are *six in the morning* and *nine in the evening.*[1]

Page 137 :— " *Changerry* is a hill fort .... at the very top is a good tower, *with a six pounder,* the only decent gun in the fort, mounted on it. "

Page 17 :— " The principal battery from which the Bhow's (Parashuram Bhau's) guns were fired is of *five guns* and called the *Ram battery,*[2] from having a favourite gun in it of that name."

Page 24 :— " A most tremendous fire of *guns, mortars, rockets,* and *musquetry* was poured from the fort and batteries. " (at *Dharwar fort*).

Page 40:— " these *guns* were originally made of *iron bars hooped round, and beaten into shape* : they will be spoken of hereafter by the name of *Malabar guns,* by which names Europeans know them. "

Page 506:— " *Limber*— A low two-wheeled carriage on which the trail of a gun is fixed when travelling : it is released in a moment if wanted to fire, which is called *unlimbering the gun* : the cattle being yoked to the *limber,* guns are of course dragged breech–first. "

Page 509:— " *Rocket*— A missile weapon consisting of an *iron tube of about a foot long* and an *inch in diameter,* fixed to a *bamboo rod of ten or twelve feet long.* The tube being filled with combustible composition is set fire to, and

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1. At present in Poona the hour " *nine in the evening* " is indicated by lowering the voltage of electric lamps. Formerly, in Poona this hour was indicated by the firing of a gun. In the B. I. S. *Mandal Quarterly* (July-October 1946) p. 225—*Mostyn's Diary* (for A. D. 1772-1774,), P. 224 is quoted as referring to " *Gunfire in the morning* " at Poona.

2. Possibly " Ram Battery " = *Parashuram Battery* named after Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan himself.

being directed by the hand, flies like an arrow to the distance of *upwards of a thousand yards.* Some of the *rockets* have a chamber and *burst like a shell*; others called *ground rockets* have a *serpentine motion* and on striking the ground rise again and bound along till their force be spent. The *rockets make a great noise and exceedingly annoy the native cavalry in India*, who move in great bodies; but are easily avoided, or *seldom take effect against our troops, who are formed in lines of great* extent and no great *depth* – This article is taken from *Major Dirom's Glossary.*"

Page 510: —" *Tumbril*— A carriage for the gun ammunition."

The foregoing notes on the use of the fire-arms by Capt. Edward Moor possess both historical and technical interest for the students of the history of fire-arms in India. Moor had a scientific outlook both in his study of men and manners, as also in his record of this study. His close study of the great guns at Bijapur is very *informative and instructive.*

(11) In Mr. N. G. Chapekar's book " पेशवाईच्या सावलीत " (Poona, 1931) we get the following references to fire-arms:—

A. D. 1758 — (Page 75) " तोफखाना " or Artillery Department of the Peshwa is referred to.

A. D. 1793 — (Page 87) — " तोफखाना."

A. D. 1779 — (Page 91) — Purchase of " दारू " or gunpowder:—

Rs. 2800 — Gun-powder[1] for *Tophs* or Guns.
Rs. 640 — — do — for *Banduks*
Rs. 78–12–0 – 250 Bags for gun-powder
=Rs. 3518–12–0 – Cost of gun-powder purchased from दुलमसेट गोविंदजी
Rs. 1600 – 0–0 " तोफीदारू "
Rs. 960 – 0–0 " बंदुकी दारू "

A. D. 1780 — Rs. 276 – 0–0 " तोफीदारू "
Rs. 56 – 4–0 Bags for gun-powder

A. D. 1781 — Rs. 62 – 8–0 Repairs to a gun called 'सरनागीन'; (Page 92) — Special earth (for casting the gun " सरनागीन ") brought from Alibag.

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1. Burgess (P. 145 of *Chrononology of Modern India* – A. D. 1494–1894) —" *A. D. 1702* Gunpowder first manufactured at Madras."

Rs. 25-0-0 For melting a temple-bell, the metal being used for casting the gun "सरनागीन."

A. D. 1773 — " तोफखाना "

A. D. 1759 — (Page 151) Rs. 15-8-0 For purchasing a बंदूक.

A. D. 1770 — (Page 156) *6 annas* for purchasing 28 bullets for *banduks.*

A. D. 1828 — (Page 255) " बंदुका "

A. D. 1769 — (Page 155) For *Banduks* on Purandar Fort Rs. 62-8-0.

A. D. 1790 — (Page 92) " दारूचे कारखान्याकडे बाबे "

It appears from the above notes that the casting of some guns and repairs to them was done at Poona or in its vicinity by local workmen. Some *Banduks* were also manufactured by local blacksmiths. On *page 274*, Rs. 5–1–6 have been debited on account of payment to a blacksmith (धनाजी लोहार सिरढोणकर) for preparing a new *Banduk.* A " पंचरसी तोफ " is also mentioned on this page.

The chronology of the references about the manufacture and use of fire-arms in India recorded above may be tabulated briefly as follows:—

Source	Chronology–A.D.	References
Hobson-Jobson	1260–1277	Usages of the word *Banduk* = crossbow and *al-Bandukāni* = Man of the pellet bow.
Ancient Monuments of Kashmir by R. Kak	1421–1472	Zain-ul-Abidin rules in Kashmir – His Persian treatise on *Fire-works.* He gave impetus to *paper-manufacture.*
	1466	*Fire-arms*, first introduced into Kashmir.
Hobson-Jobson	1573	Manufacture at Fez of *Cannon* and *powder* by Christian captives.
Ain-i-Akbari of Abdul Fazl	c. 1590	Detailed description of the *Artillery* Department of Akbar— *Artillery*, is called " *Locks and keys of Empire* "— Number and variety of ordnance unmatched except in *Room* — Cannon carrying a ball of 12 maunds— cannon requiring many elephants and 1000 bullocks for transportation-Akbar's great personal attention to this Department, with many officers and clerks–Akbar's invention of many kinds of ordnance–Seventeen pieces discharged by one match–Gujnāl, Nurnāl-

Source	Chrono-logy–A.D.	References
		Special Artillery for each Subhā—Cannon for battery and boats prepared by skilful artists—large salaries to Officers.
		Rules for special fire-arms for Akbar's use –*Bundooks* that do not burst even though filled up to the muzzle—Smallest *Bundook, two spans* long and longest of 2 ells – *Bundooks fired without a match, merely by the motion of the trigger.*
		Akbar's personal supervision-Chiefs of Artists are *Ostad Kebeer* and *Hussain*- Akbar working like an Artillery engineer while in the Harem, supervising every detail of the manufacture of *Bundooks* – Rungeen or coloured muskets– *Akbar's invention of a wheel* to polish 16 muskets in a short time–Royal Artillery workshops – Akbar's daily firing practice–*Sangram* musket for hunting – four scales of pay for officers of the artillery-Author of some works on firearms.
Catalogue of Venetian Coins by Aravamuthan.	1597	Death of a Milanese Gunner at Lahore.
	c. 1625	Musket barrels wrought in gold etc. brought by Venetians.
	1632	A Venetian " maker of artillery " employed by the Mogol Emperor.
	1656	Manucci the Venetian " artillery-man " entered service under Dara Shukoh.
	c. 1672	A great piece of cannon, carrying about 540 pounds of gun-powder, cast by a native of Rome and mounted on the walls of Bijapur.
	1680	Reference to a match-lock capable of firing 5/6 times after *one* loading only.
Sanskrit Poetesses.	Before 1600	References to वह्निचूर्ण (gun–powder), गोलिका (bullet) and भुशण्डी (musket) by Poetess *Gauri.*
Saint *Tukārāma's Works.*	1608–1649	Reference to "गोळ्या " (bullets.)

Source	Chrono-logy-A.D.	References
Raghu-nātha Paṇḍita.	c. 1676	Explanations of the terms बाण, बर्खंदाज, बन्दुक, दारू, अवळंग, जम्बूरा, काना, and गोलंदाज in the राजव्यवहारकोश (शस्त्रवर्ग).
Bernier's Travels.	1656–1668	Bernier describes Aurangzeb's *Artillery* –employment of *Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, French,* etc., on high pay— Two kinds of artillery, *heavy* and *light*—The use of the fire-work called "*Cherkys*" to separate fighting elephants –Heavy cannon drawn on carriages–Musketeers and foot artillery—camels, elephants and oxen used for transport of guns—ammunition chests on gun–carriages.
Hobson Jobson.	1687	Topchi (gunners) and Tophana (तोफखाना) at Constantinople.
Burgess	1702	Gun-powder first manufactured at Madras.
Ājñāpatra of Rāma-candra Amātya.	21st. Nov. 1716	Description of Shivaji's standing Army — Musketeers, bowmen, and their equipment–दारूगोळी, बाण, होके, भांडीं, etc. रामचंगी, दुराल्धा, फिरंगनाळ, सुतरनाळ, गाड्यावरील भांडीं, करोल,–Standing army, consisting of लष्कर, हशम, माहाव, बंदुकी, तिरंदाजी, करोल, Special care of the Artillery on forts — दारूखाना, दारूचे बस्ते, बाण, होके, to be kept dry in the rainy season — Periodic inspection of ordnance by Havaldar — High officers on the fort should practise musketry. Ordnance for the Navy— भांडीं, जंबुरे, बंदुका, दारूगोळी, हुके, etc. Naval Cannonading against enemy.
Edward Moor's *Narrative.*	1794	Moor's description and measurements of the *Great–guns* at Bijapur. Moolk e' Meidan, *Lumcherree, Malbar Gun, Kurk o Bedjlee* (perhaps melted down)— *Dow* referring to big guns at Arcot and Dacca.

Source	Chronology-A. D.	References
		Hanway's reference to a big gun in a German city, carrying a ball of 730 pounds. Renell's description of the *gun* near Dacca (fallen into river) as weighing 64, 814 pounds. "*Malbar guns*" so called by Europeans were made of iron bars hooped round and beaten into shape. *Major Dirom's* description of a *Rocket.*
N. G. Chapekar's "पेशवाईचे सावलींत."	1758–90	*Tophkhānā* (Artillery) of the Peshwas—Dealers in gun-powder at Poona — Two kinds of gun-powder, one kind for *Tophs* and the other for *Banduks* — Casting of a gun called "सरनागीन" by melting a temple-bell — Purchase of *Banduks* and bullets — *Banduks* prepared by local black-smiths — "दारूचा कारखाना"—Bags of gun-powder.
Peshwa Daftar Selection No. 45 p. 101.	December 1759	Purchase of cannon by the Peshwas from the English — Ramaji Mahadeva purchased pieces of Cannon from the English, each weighing more than 20 sers.
इतिहाससंग्रह by Parasnis (Jan. 1911) ऐतिहासिक टिपणें No. 22.	1753–1799	Tipu Sultan manufactured guns for his army and ceased purchasing guns imported by the English.

I hope the data collected in the present paper as also those in my previous paper will give the readers a fair idea about the use and manufacture of guns and gun-powder in India between about A. D. 1450 and 1850. I propose to deal with the use of gun-powder before A. D. 1400 in and outside India in another paper, as soon as sufficient evidence is gathered for this purpose. During my study of this topic, which is strictly realistic, I have failed to develop the view entertained by some previous writers on this subject that fire-arms were known in ancient India.

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3. The History Of Fireworks In India Between A. D. 1400 And 1900*

All important inventions like printing, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, etc., have profoundly affected the course of civilizations of the East and the West. The history of the origins of these inventions and their wide-spread use throughout the world in the subsequent centuries is quite enchanting. Attempts have been made to study this history to the minutest detail on the strength of historical sources, both Eastern and Western. Unfortunately the Eastern sources are not easily available to European writers on this subject. So naturally their accounts of inventions which originated in the East are incomplete and sometimes vague and erroneous. The articles on these inventions in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, though very useful to the average reader, are incomplete, as I found when I referred to them during the course of my studies in the history of Indian culture. There is, therefore, ample scope for research pertaining to the history of these inventions on the basis of known and unknown Asiatic sources of history.

During the last 36 years of my close study and research in the field of Indian literary and cultural history, the history of some of the inventions which affected Indian culture excited my curiosity. Among these, the invention of gunpowder loomed large on the horizon of my field of investigation. Accordingly I published two papers,[1] recording the use of gunpowder in India for purposes of warfare. One of these papers deals with the history of the use of guns and gunpowder in India from *c.* A.D. 1400 onwards while the other deals with the history of the manufacture and use of firearms in India between A.D. 1450 and 1850. Copies of these papers were sent by me to numerous scholars in India and outside.

One of these scholars, *viz.*, the late Prof. Tenney L. Davis, Editor-in-Chief of *Chymia*, devoted to the history of chemistry and published by the University of Pennsylvania, pressed me to write one more paper on the related subject of the Indian contribution to the history of fireworks. When I received this request from this most versatile American scholar I decided to accept it, especially because I was collecting some material on this topic to complete my inquiry about the use of gunpowder in India.

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* Transaction No. 17 published by the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, pp. 1–26, 1953.

1 *Vide* pp. 117-124 of the *Sir Denison Ross Commemoration Volume* edited by P. K. GODE and S. M. KATRE, 1939, and pp. 203-228 of the *K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume*, Part I (1948), published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay.

both for warfare and for entertainment. Unfortunately, Professor Davis is no longer with us to see the completion of the present paper, as he suddenly passed away in January 1950 after posting to me a batch of his papers on the history of Chinese alchemy and a proof of my paper on the history of ambergris in India, which appeared in Vol. II of *Chymia*, dedicated to his memory. The pleasant memory of my contact of two years with Professor Davis still haunts me as I write this paper.

In the article on "Fireworks" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Edition, 1929, Vol. 9, pp. 281–283), no detailed history of fireworks is recorded. The following points in this article will, however, give us a background for the present study :—

(1) The history of pyrotechny may be said to have begun when a prehistoric fire maker first mixed saltpetre with his charcoal cooking-fire to use as tinder. Other ingredients were added later.

(2) When the principle of the gun was evolved by Berthold Schwartz in the 13th century the pyrotechnic mixture used by him was named "gunpowder."

(3) With the introduction of artillery the military fire worker came into existence. He provided pyrotechnic engines of war as also spectacular fireworks in celebration of victory or peace. During the 17th century and onwards, most occasions of national rejoicing were celebrated by displays of fireworks, generally provided by military fire workers.

(4) It was not until the early part of the 18th century that displays of any pyrotechnic merit were produced.

(5) During the 17th century two schools of pyrotechnic thought developed, *viz.*, (i) the Nuremberg school and (ii) the Italian school.

(6) The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1749 was celebrated in London with a display of fireworks.

(7) De Frezier in his two books published in 1707 and 1747 describes the introduction of colour in fireworks.

(8) In the first quarter of the 19th century the era of modern pyrotechny began with the introduction of potassium chlorate (discovered in 1788) in the manufacture of fireworks. Two metals, magnesium (c. 1865) and aluminium (in 1894) were introduced and gave to fireworks a brilliancy never before attained.

(9) The famous displays of fireworks at the Crystal Palace, London, were instituted in 1865.

(10) The National Peace Display in Hyde Park in 1919 was the greatest display produced up till that time.

(11) In the literature on fireworks the writings of the following authors are noted :—

(i) Vannucio Biringoccio (*Pirotechnia*, Venice, 1540 and 1553)
(ii) De Frezier (1707, 1747)
(iii) Ruggieri (1801, 1821)
(iv) Chertier (1843, 1854)
(v) Websky (Leipzig, 1878)
(vi) Denisse (1878)
(vii) A. St. H. Brock (1922)

These are the only points of historical interest in the article on "Fireworks" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The earliest work on fireworks mentioned in the article is *Pyrotechnia* by Vannucio (1540). I shall record subsequently in this paper some formulæ in Sanskrit for the manufacture of fireworks by a royal author, who flourished in Orissa between A. D. 1497 and 1539. This Indian author was evidently a contemporary of Vannucio, who published his work on fireworks in 1540.

The *History of Fireworks* by Alan St. H. Brock (London, 1949) is a very important publication on the subject. Its first 10 chapters are of special interest to me as they deal with such topics as the origin of pyrotechny, pyrotechny in the East and in Europe (from early years to the 18th century) and pyrotechny from 1800 to 1948. The following points from this detailed history of fireworks will be found useful for understanding correctly the historical perspective in which my evidence on the history of fireworks in India must stand, in the light of our present knowledge of this subject:—

(1) The book contains some pictures of displays of fireworks and related exhibits of historical interest. I note below the details of some of these illustrations by dates:—

1570—Display at Nuremberg, the earliest print showing fireworks in action. (Plate I)

1600—Display at Florence in honour of the marriage of Henry IV of France. (Plate I)

1635—A printed book on fireworks by John Bate of London. (Plate II)

1650—Display at Nuremberg. (Plate III)

1678— do, in honour of the visit of Leopold, Emperor of Austria. (Plate IV)

1685—Display on the Thames for the Coronation of James II. (Plate VIII)

1676—Display at Versailles for 5 days. (Plate V)

1735—Display at Meudon on the 5th birthday of the Dauphin of France. (Plate VI)

1749—Displays at The Hague and at London to celebrate the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. (Plate facing p. 52)

1769—Ticket for ball and fireworks in commemoration of "Shakespeare's Jubilee" at Stratford-on-Avon, signed by George Garrick, brother of the famous actor. (Plate VII)

1763—Ticket for display to celebrate the Peace of Paris. (Plate VII)

1688—Display on the Thames to welcome William of Orange to London. (Plate IX)

1688—Display at Amsterdam to mark the Coronation of William in London. (Plate X)

1713—Peace Display on the Thames. (Plate XI)

1810—Display at Paris on the occasion of the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon to Marie Louise. (Plate XII)

1762—Illuminations at Buckingham Palace: Birthday of King George III. (Plate XII)

1751—Fireworks at Versailles: Contemporary water-colour bearing the signature of the pyrotechnist Torré. (Plate facing p. 81)

1814—Grand Jubilee Display at the Green Park. (Plate facing p. 96)

1816 / 1820 } Two posters about fireworks by Mr. Brock: This plate contains two pictures, of Queen Victoria's Coronation Display and of fireworks at Vauxhall Gardens. (Plate XIV)

1685 (6th November)—Act of 1685 Prohibiting the Manufacture, Sale and Firing of Fireworks. (Plate facing p. 140)

1855—Fireworks at Versailles celebrating the visit of Queen Victoria to Paris. (Plate XVIII)

1852—Display at Paris. (Plate XVIII)

1869—Display at the Crystal Palace: Visit of the Khedive of Egypt and De Lesseps, Engineer of the Suez Canal. (Plate XIX)

1892—Fire portrait of the Shah of Persia (60 ft. high) fired at the Crystal Palace. (Plate XIX)

1855—Fireworks at Woolwich Marshes celebrating the fall of Sebastopol. (Plate XXIII)

1886—Display at Lisbon celebrating the marriage of the Crown Prince of Portugal. (XXIV)

1892—"Niagara of Fire" from Brooklyn Bridge, New York. (Plate XXV)

1908—Display celebrating the Tercentenary of the founding of Quebec. (Plate XXV)

1919—Display at Hyde Park. (Plate XXVI)

1947—Display at Cape Town for the Royal Visit. (Plate XXVII)

1946—Rockets over the Thames: National Peace Display. (plate XXVII)

1858—Explosion in Madame Coton's Factory. (Plate XXVIII)

1842—Explosion at D'Ernst's Factory. (Plate XXVIII)

1841—Rocket Practice at Woolwich Marshes: Picture showing Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, etc. (Plate facing p. 224)

1673—Fireworks used for advertising by a quack doctor who died in this advertising stunt. (Plate XXIX)

1751–1772— *Diderot's Encyclopaedia :* Plate showing Manufacture and Apparatus of Fireworks. (Plate XXX)

The foregoing dated illustrations about fireworks give us in a nutshell the history of fireworks in the West from A. D. 1570 onwards.

(2) Brock gives us a " Bibliography of Manuscripts and Printed Sources " in Appendix I to his *History of Fireworks* (pp. 267–270). I note below some items from this Bibliography:—

(i) Manuscripts by dates:—

A. D. 1432—MS on the " *Feuerwerksbuch.* " (In the University Library, Freiburg)

C. A. D. 1438—Latin MS. (In the Royal Library, Munich)

1785—*Artificial Fireworks* : 3 Volumes, with illustrations. (In Brock's possession.)

(ii) Printed Sources.—Dates of printed works on Fireworks are as follows:—

1859, 1696 (London), 1816,1529 (Strasbourg), 1817, 1591 (London), 1807, 1909, 1893, 1620 and 1630 (Pont-à-Mousson), 1818, 1825, 1635 (London), 1845, 1891, 1540 (Venice), 1578, 1922, 1884, 1880, 1844, 1912, 1830, 1854, c. 1540 (Venice), 1823 (Philadelphia), 1822, 1825, 1943, 1882, 1876, 1579, 1735, 1864, c. 1620, 1919, 1885, 1741, 1747, 1895, 1915, 1873, 1906, 1765, 1776, 1878, 1845, 1846, 1878, 1588 (London), 1607 (Strasbourg), 1629 (Paris), 1836, c. 1812, 1824, 1852, 1628 (London), 1643 (London), 1648 (Worcester), 1824, 1740, 1745, c. 1870, 1865, 1801, 1821, 1812, 1854, 1729, 1650 (Amsterdam), 1710, 1859, 1612, (Brussels), 1865, 1850, 1930 (New Orleans), 1947 (Brooklyn), 1900 (New York), 1573 (London), 1878, 1698 (Copenhagen), 1896.

Encyclopædias, Periodicals, etc:—

1865, 1753 (*Chamber's Encyclopædia*); 1943, 1948, 1947, 1824, 1929, 1751-52 (*Diderot's Encyclopaedia*), 1802, 1856, 1921, 1886, 1941.

Brock's *Bibliography* about fireworks gives us a fair idea how the invention of gunpowder has been exploited in Europe for purposes of warfare and social entertainment. It is worth while preparing a bibliography of manuscripts and printed sources in India pertaining to gunpowder, firearms, fireworks, etc.

The Sanskrit texts on the manufacture of fireworks discovered by me belong to the period, A. D. 1497-1539. These texts appear to be the earliest, if not the only texts about the manufacture of specific fireworks, some of which have come down to us. In Brock's *Bibliography* the earliest MSS about fireworks are dated A. D. 1432, 1438, etc., while the earliest printed books are dated A. D. 1529, 1540, etc.

(3) Speaking about the origin of pyrotechny Brock observes that the discovery of the possibilities of saltpetre as an aid to combustion, somewhere in Asia, led to the gradual development of pyrotechnic mixtures. The knowledge in course of time spread to Europe, where, early in the 14th century, the monk Berthold Schwartz invented the gun, adapting a pyrotechnic mixture to his purpose. Two hundred years later firearms were introduced into China by the Portuguese. (p. 19)

(4) The Chinese employed explosive missiles as early as A. D. 1232. " War rockets were used in India in very early times. " There is no definite evidence as to when fireworks first began to play their part in Chinese civil life (p. 20). Two works on pyrotechny written during the Ming Dynasty (A. D. 1368-1644) contain a few references to the subject, not of much practical value (p. 23). Chao Hsüehmin's *Outlines of Pyrotechnics* (c. A. D. 1753) seems to be the only work on civil fireworks to have appeared during the long history of pyrotechny in China. There are two books on Chinese military pyrotechnics written about the beginning of the 17*th* century.

(5) In A. D. 1659 a pyrotechnist named Kagia began manufacturing fireworks at Tokyo, in Japan. Since 1868 August 1 has been observed as the date of the great fireworks festival of Tokyo. (p. 26)

(6) Although primitive firework mixtures must have been known in India and used by the Hindus for many centuries it was not until almost the beginning of the present century that any advance was made. The cracker is used in India in differing forms known as *gola, pataka, vengagvedi, koroo, adirvedi* etc. " Chinese fire " mixture is used by Hindu pyrotechnists burnt in paper, bamboo containers and earthenware pots. These are known as *Tubri*. Other fireworks used in India are *anar, puljari,*

burusu, chandrajota or *mahtab*. Rockets are known as *abusavanani* or *hawai* (p. 28).

Brock's history of fireworks is exhaustive so far as European sources are concerned but it contains no historical information about fireworks in Asiatic countries, including India.

Prof. L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University records some information about gunpowder on pp. 152-154 of his *Short History of the Chinese People*, New York, 1951. The following points from these pages are noteworthy:—

(1) During the Sung Period (A. D. 960-1279) the application of explosive powder to war was a major development.

(2) The firecracker (known in the 6th century A. D.) was originally employed for religious ceremonies.

(3) Fiery projectiles were used in warfare as early as the 12th century.

(4) According to Chinese historians the process of making explosive powder was first described fully in a military handbook issued in A. D. 1044. The first trustworthy reference to the use of a mixture of *sulphur, saltpetre, paper, charcoal, tung oil*, etc., for military purposes dates from the year A. D. 1000.

(5) Full development of fire weapons is noticeable under the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries.

(6) In A. D. 1126-27 and in 1161-62 the Chinese utilized explosive weapons both on land and water against the invading Jurchen.

(7) In A. D 1259 and 1272 the Chinese used such weapons as a long bamboo tube from which bullets were ejected by touching off the powder, to halt the advancing Mongols.

(8) The Mongols were fully equipped with fire-weapons, like a catapult capable of flinging large rocks and a field-piece called *Mangonel*, constructed by two Moslems.

(9) Whoever may have invented the cannon and smaller pieces, the Chinese and their immediate neighbours played a significant part in the early stages of their development; the Chinese alone originated the firecracker and allied fireworks. [2]

In September 1948, I received from my friend Prof. Tenney L. Davis a reprint of an article on " Early Chinese Military Pyrotechnics, " written by him in collaboration with Prof. James R. Ware of Harvard

2 Vide " Invention and Use of Gunpowder and Firearms in China. " By WANG LING. (Isis, 1947, No. 87, pp. 160-178).

University and published in the *Journal of Chemical Education*, vol. 24, pp. 522-537, November 1947. This article contains much valuable information about the history of pyrotechnics in China which is not known in India. The following points from this article supply us the Chinese background for the history of fireworks in India : —

(1) According to Goodrich and Feng, guns were in use in China before the visit of Portuguese navigators to Canton in A. D. 1517, in fact, as early as A. D. 1236. Goodrich has published photographs of ancient Chinese iron cannons bearing the dates A. D. 1356, 1357 and 1377. The Peiping Museum contains copper cannons dating from the period of Hung-wu (A. D. 1368-1398) and others from the period A. D. 1403-1449. The Chinese had real firearms in the 13th century. In 1132 bamboo tubes were filled with a pyrotechnic composition and used for throwing flame. In A. D. 1259 bullets were loaded into tubes along with the composition and thrown out when it burned. In A. D. 1236, *p'ao* were cast from gold, silver, iron and bronze.

(2) From fireworks, Firearms were undoubtedly derived.

(3) Among Chinese texts on military subjects the following dealing with military pyrotechnics are noteworthy as they contain many informative and interesting illustrations :—

(i) *Teng Tan Pi Chiu* by Wang Ming-hao (end of the 16th century), 23 illustrations.

(ii) *Wu Pei Chih* by Mao Yuan-i (about A. D. 1621), 222 single pages of pictures.

The contents of these treatises are examined at length by Davis and Ware with illustrations which supply us a complete picture of the various steps in the evolution of guns from spouting fire weapons. The fire weapons[3] described in these treatises are : (i) Arrows carrying an incendiary composition, (ii) Fireballs, (iii) Incendiary stink bombs, (iv) Spouting fire weapons, (v) Rockets, (vi) Exploding weapons; Grenades, bombs and shells; (vii) Artillery and field pieces, and (viii) Guns.

(4) The following chronological table given by Davis and Ware gives at a glance the history of fireworks in China from the 6th century A. D. onwards:-

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3. We may compare the Chinese fire weapons with those used in India from 1400 onwards. See my paper in the K. M. Munshi Volume, Part I (1948) on the manufacture of firearms in India. In Akbar's time a body of gunners was kept on some vessels. (See Ain-i-Akbari, FRANCIS GLADWIN'S translation, Vol. I. p. 195 (Calcutta, 1897). Side by side with the bow and arrow, the bundook was also used for hunting. The Ain-i-Akbari refers to Akbar's "killing the lion with a matchlock." (Ibid. p. 198)

Chronology A. D.	Item
6th century	Bamboos, cracking in a fire, used in Hupeh and Hunan to drive away malignant spirits. Firecrackers not yet known.
603-617	Emperor Yang-ti of the Suy Dynasty introduced fireworks, probably firecrackers.
618-906	T'ang Dynasty. Fang I-chih (*c.* 1630) believes that recreational fireworks, fire trees and silver flowers were already known. A certain Yüan Shu-chi, whose history is very much beclouded, mentions crackers, rockets, serpents or squibs, and exhibition pieces.
917	The Sovereign of Wu had a furious fiery oil for use in warfare.
968	Yo I-fang prepared fire arrows for the Sung Emperor.
1126	Fireballs thrown from catapults were used against the Kin in defence of K'ai-feng Fu.
1132	An invention of Ch'ên Kuei, long bamboo tubes filled with a pyrotechnic composition used to rout bandits at Te-an.
Before 1164	Wei Shêng used against the Kin fire stones made from saltpetre, sulphur, and willow charcoal and thrown from catapults.
1221	Kin Tartars attacked a Chinese city with *t'ieh-huo-p'ao*, gourdshaped explosive bombs of cast iron, about two inches thick.
1232	Kin Tartars defending Lo-yang and K'ai-fêng Fu against the Mongols, employed "heaven-quaking thunderers" (explosive bombs) and "flying fire spears" (equipped with fire tubes).
1259	Chinese at Shou-Ch'un employed *t'u-huo-Ch'iang*, long bamboo tubes which threw smoke and fire and one or more bullets.
1272	Chang Shun had fire spears and fire ballistae on board boats at Siang-yang Fu.
1356, 1357, 1377	Cast-iron cannons of these dates exist in Chinese museums.
1368-1398, 1403-1449	Copper cannons of these dates in the museum at Peiping.
1407	Emperor Yung-lo established a fire-weapon brigade. General Chang Fu, in his assault on Topang, used guns and bombs attached to animals.

I have given above the historical background of the origin and development of fireworks in China and Europe. It now remains for me to record my evidence about the use and manufacture of fireworks in India. I record this evidence below to enable other scholars to supplement it with new material from sources not known to me :—

(1) In the English translation of *Gulistan* by the Persian poet Sadi (c. A. D 1175-1292) by Francis Gladwin. (Bombay, 1894, p. 133, Chapter VII—Tale XIII (" Effects of Education ") we find the following : —

" An Indian was teaching others how to make fireworks, when a wise man said to him : This is not a fit play for you, who inhabit a house made of reeds. Until you are persuaded that the discourse is strictly proper speak not; and whatever you know will not obtain a favourable answer, ask not. ' "

When I read this passage I thought that I had found the earliest reference to the manufacture of fireworks by Indians. Before accepting this reference as genuine, however, I wrote on December 5th, 1944, to my learned friend Khan Bahadur Prof. A. K. Shaikh, inquiring if Gladwin's translation of the lines containing the reference to fireworks was correct. In his prompt and scholarly reply to my letter Professor Shaikh wrote to me on December 7th, 1944, as follows: —

"Gladwin's translation of the passage in *Gulistan* is *wrong*. The correct translation is ' A Hindū (the word Hindu also means a slave) was learning (*i. e.*, practising) *Naptha*-throwing ' etc. The word used in *Gulistan* is *Naft* or *Nift* which is Arabic, from which are derived *Naphtha*, *Naphthaline*, etc. It was an inflammable liquid, with which thin glass bottles or balls were filled and these latter thrown against the enemy as incendiary bombs, somewhat like the modern hand-grenade. When struck against any hard substances in the body of the enemy, the container would break and let loose the contents, which would immediately burst into flames and set fire to combustible articles. It was generally used in warfare in the middle ages.

There are some works written in Persian bearing on the subject. Gunpowder is known in Persian and Urdu as *Bārūh* which is a Turkish word. Persian words relevant to Fireworks are : — हवाई, महताबी, अनार, आतशबाजी, दारूखाना. Other interesting Turkish words are : — बंदूक, बंदूकची, तमंचा, तोप, तोपची. दारू (Gunpowder) is also a Persian word. "

In view of the above reply, I could not regard Sadi's as the earliest reference to the manufacture of fireworks by Indians.

(2) "Abdur Razzāq, the ambassador from the Court of Sultan Shāh Rukh, who stayed in Vijayanagar from the end of April A. D. 1443 till the 5th of December, A. D. 1443 during the reign of Devarāya II, mentions the use of pyrotechny in the Mahānavamī festival."[4] The words of this Persian Ambassador about pyrotechny are quoted by Dr. B. A. Saletore on p. 374 of his *Social and Political Life at Vijayanagar*, etc., (Vol. II) as follows :—

"One cannot without entering into great detail mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs and various other amusements which were exhibited."

It is clear from this reference that various kinds of fireworks, either manufactured at Vijayanagar or imported from outside, were used at Vijayanagar in A. D. 1443 and possibly many years earlier for purposes of entertainment at festivals.

(3) Ram Chandra Kak in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933) gives the political history of Kashmir. In his account of the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin (A. D. 1421–1472), he refers to his work on fireworks as follows:—

Page 36— The King himself composed two works in Persian the first being a treatise in the form of questions and answers on the manufacture of fireworks and the second entitled *Shikayat* (The Plaint), a poem, etc.

Page 38— It was in his reign, in the year A. D. 1466 that firearms were first introduced in Kashmir.

It is curious to find that the Chinese text on military pyrotechnics by Wang Ming-hao, noticed by Davis and Ware in their paper referred to above, also belongs to the end of the 16th century. It remains to be investigated whether the Persian treatise on fireworks by the Kashmir Muslim King Zain-ul-Abidin had anything to do with the Chinese texts on military pyrotechny composed before A. D. 1472. I hope that some Persian scholar will throw some light on this point from Persian sources.

(4) Verthema in his *Travels* (Argonaut Press, London, 1928) writes about Malacca and Sumatra in Chapter XII. He was at Pidar (Pedir) in Sumatra. About the people of this place he observes on page 86 as follows :—

"They are also very great swimmers and excellent masters of the art of making fireworks."

The period of Verthema's *Travels* was "A. D. 1502–1508." It is, therefore, clear from his reference to fireworks in Sumatra that the art

4. See Elliot's *History of India*, IV, pp. 117-18.

of making fireworks, which was in a flourishing condition in Vijayanagar in A. D. 1443 and current in Kashmir between A. D. 1421 and 1472, had also penetrated as far south as Sumatra and Malacca by A. D. 1500, if not earlier.

Verthema describes the City of Vijayanagar (Bisinegar), its elephants and elephant-fights (pp. 51-2). In this connection he observes (page 52) as follows :—

" But if at any time they (elephants) are bent on flight it is impossible to restrain them ; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight. "

The manufacture of fireworks at Vijayanagar and their display observed by Abdur Razzāq in A. D. 1443 had reached perfection by A. D. 1500 as vouched by the above remarks of Verthema.

(5) Barbosa in his *Travels*[5] (Vol. I, London, 1918, page 117) describes a Brahmin wedding in Gujarat and the use of rockets on this occasion as follows :—

" During this time they [the bride and the bridegroom] are entertained by the people with dances and songs, firing of bombs and rockets in plenty, for their pleasure. "

It is evident from this reference to the use of fireworks by Barbosa in his *Travels* (A. D. 1518) that fireworks were manufactured in India on a large scale about A. D. 1500 and were available in plenty in Gujarat for use at marriages and on other festive occasions.

(6) The testimony of foreign observers as to the use and manufacture of fireworks in India between A. D. 1443 and 1518 recorded so far needs to be corroborated from Indian sources. So far, I have referred to only one treatise on fireworks in Persian, by Zain-ul-Abidin, the Muslim King of Kashmir (A. D. 1421–1472), but no Sanskrit text on the manufacture of fireworks has been discovered by any scholar. In search of such a text I was fortunate in discovering a section on the manufacture of specific fireworks in a Sanskrit work called the *Kautukacintāmaṇi*[6] by Gajapati

5. Published by the Hakluyt Society, London. Second Series, No. XLIV, 1918.
6. Aufrecht records the following MSS of *Kautukacintāmaṇi* :—

C C I, p. 131[a] कौतुकचिन्तामणि dh B. 8, 80 by Rudradeva K. 248.
कौतुकचिन्तामणि med. Oudh IX. 26. Burnell 696 by Pratāparudradeva. Bikaner 646.

C C II, p. 25[b]--कौ. चिन्तामणि An. Rgb 1031 (inc.) med. by Pratāparudradeva. I. O. 1957, 2072.

C C III, p. 28b--कौ. चिन्तामणि by Pratāparudradeva, Bd. 281.

Pratāparudradeva of Orissa (A. D. 1497-1539), the reputed author of some works on *dharmaśāstra* like the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, etc. Aufrecht mentions this royal author [7] of Orissa and the works attributed to him. None of the MSS of the *Kautukacintāmaṇi* mentioned by Aufrecht in his Catalogue are available to me except the following, found in the Government MSS Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona:—

(1) MS No. 1031 of 1884-87. Folios 52-55 of this MS are devoted to विनोदनानि or royal entertainments. In fact, these folios contain formulas for the preparation of different fireworks such as:—

(i)	कल्पवृक्षबाण:	(v)	पुष्पवर्तिः
(ii)	चामरबाण:	(vi)	छुछुंदरीरसबाण:
(iii)	चंद्रज्योतिः	(vii)	तीक्ष्णनाल:
(iv)	चंपाबाण:	(viii)	पुष्पबाण:

(2) *MS No. 981 of 1887-91.* This MS is dated A. D. 1778 but it is a copy of an earlier MS dated A. D. 1670. Folios 37-38 of this MS contain the formulas for fireworks (in Sanskrit verses) referred to above.

The text of the Sanskrit verses containing the formulas will be edited by me later by procuring copies of the MSS of the *Kautukacintāmaṇi* from other libraries. I may, however, note below the materials used in the manufacture of fireworks as found in the Sanskrit verses describing the formulas :—

(1) गंधक :—Sulphur. (*WPC*)[8]

(2) यवक्षार :—Saltpetre. (*WPC*)

(3) अंगार :—Charcoal. (*WPC* : charcoal of bamboo, pine, willow, birchbark, etc.)

(4) तीक्ष्णस्य लोहस्य चूर्णं :— Powder of steel.

(5) लोहचूर्णं :—Powder of iron. (*WPC* : Powder of roasted iron)

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7. *Cata. Catalo.* I, p. 348— प्रतापरुद्रदेव गजपति, son of पुरुषोत्तमदेव, grandson of कपिलेश्वरदेव, patron of विश्वनाथसेन. Works attributed to him :
—कौतुकचिन्तामणि L. 3108, Bik. 646
—निर्णयसंग्रह
—प्रतापमार्तण्ड
—सरस्वतीविलास

8. The letters *WPC* indicate the *Wu Pei Chih*, the Chinese text on military pyrotechnics by MAO YUAN-I, written about A. D. 1621. I have put the letters *WPC* against the materials used in Indian pyrotechnics to indicate that these materials were also used in China for the manufacture of fireworks.

(6) "ताम्रोद्भवं जांगलाख्यं द्रवं मरकतछविः"—Exudation from copper called जांगल, having the lustre or colour of an emerald.

(7) तालकं—Yellow orpiment. (*WPC* : orpiment).

(8) पाषाण्यगैरिकं—गैरिक—Ochre. (Marathi काव, गेरू)

(9) खादिरं दारु—Wood of the *Khadira* tree.

(10) नालक or नाल—A hollow piece of bamboo.

(11) वर्तिका—A wick.

(12) पंचक्षार—Five kinds of salt. *Apte's Dictionary* mentions क्षारत्रितय—three kinds, *viz.*, natron, saltpetre, and borax.

(13) तीक्ष्णलोह—Steel.

(14) वेणुनाल—A hollow piece of bamboo.[9]

(15) आयुपाषाणमंत्र—आयुपाषाण=आखुपाषाण—Lodestone.

(16) चिन्नुकात्रय—

(17) एरंडबीजमज्जा or एरंडमज्जा—Pulp made of the crushed seeds of the castor-oil plant.

(18) सूतं—Quicksilver or mercury. (*WPC*)

(19) अन्नपिष्ट—Paste made from food (rice, etc.).

(20) वंशनाल—A hollow piece of bamboo.

(21) नाग—Tin or lead. (*WPC* : powder of lead)

(22) अर्कांगार (अर्क+अंगार)—Charcoal prepared from the wood of the अर्क (Madar, रुई) plant.

(23) गोमूत्र—Cow's urine.

(24) हिंगुळरस—हिंगुळ—Vermillion or cinnabar. (*WPC*)

(25) हरितारक—This may be हरितालक or हरिताल—Yellow orpiment, (*WPC* : orpiment)

The foregoing list of ingredients of pyrotechnic mixtures used in India along with other accessories for the manufacture of fireworks c. A. D. 1500 speaks for itself. It is possible to suggest that the Chinese formulas for the manufacture of fireworks were brought to India some time about A. D. 1400 and then modified by the use of Indian substitutes for Chinese ingredients, not all of which may have been then available in India. The main pyrotechnic ingredients, like sulphur, saltpetre, charcoal, powder of iron, etc., had to be retained in the Indian formulas as they were the very basis of pyrotechny; they were available in India from early times.

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9. Long bamboo tubes filled with a pyrotechnic composition were used to rout bandits in China. This was an invention of Chên Kuei (A. D. 1132).

(7) Consistent with my discovery of Sanskrit formulas about the manufacture of fireworks current in Orissa about A. D. 1500 and used for royal entertainment, I have found a brief description in Sanskrit of the display of fireworks for royal entertainment in a Sanskrit work, called the *Ākāśabhairava-Kalpa*, represented by a MS in the Tanjore Manuscript Library. I acquired a copy of this voluminous treatise for the B. O. R. Institute and studied it. The results of my study of this treatise have been published by me in a paper[10] in the *Karnatak Historical Review* (Dharwar, 1939). This treatise contains references to guns and fireworks and is obviously later than *c.* A. D. 1400. In *Paṭala* 60 of this treatise नालिका (*nālikā*) or a gun is mentioned among 32 weapons to be worshipped by the King. In *Paṭala* 62, dealing with several entertainments (*vinodas*) for the King, I find the following passage describing a display of fireworks: —

" ततः पश्येद्दारुयन्त्रविशेषान्स्वन्नाकृतीन् ।
दिवा भ्रान्त्या कल्पयतः केचिच्चेजसा मिथि ॥
उच्चावचान् बाणवृक्षान् ततः पश्येन्नरेश्वरः ।
स्फुलिङ्गान्चामराकारान् तिर्यगुद्गिरतो बहून् ॥
ततः प्रलयकालोचन् घनगर्जितभीषणम् ।
शृणुयाद्बाणनिनदं विनोदान्तविसूचकम् ॥
एवं प्रतिदिनं राजा विनोदान् पंचविंशतिम् । ", etc.

In this passage the author gives us a description of the several structures used in the pyrotechnic display which the King was to witness each day. The expression " बाणवृक्षान् " (*bāṇavṛkṣān*)[11] possibly refers to structures on which the *bāṇas* or rockets were hung and from which they were fired off in the air. Sparks of fire were emitted from these structures and the whole display looked like the hairs of a Chowrie.[12] Some of the sparks issuing from these structures were shot off at a tangent. The entire display came to a close with the sound of a rocket (*bāṇa*), which was fired off last to indicate the end of the entertainment.

(8) From the references to fireworks in the Sanskrit sources recorded above I now turn to references to fireworks in Marathi literature.

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10. The title of this paper is " *Ākāśabhairava Kalpa* ; An Unknown Source of the History of Vijayanagara. "

11. This is possibly a display of the rocket called the कल्पवृक्षबाण described in the formulas of fireworks given by Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa.

12. Possibly the rocket called the चामरबाण in the formulas of Pratāparudradeva was used for this display.

The earliest description of a display of fireworks in a marriage procession so far discovered by me is found in Saint Ekanātha's Marathi poem *Rukmiṇī-Svayaṃvara* completed in Śaka 1492 = A. D. 1570. The text of this description is found on pages 106–7 of *Ekanāthacaritra* by Mr. D. B. Sahasrabuddhe (Poona, 1883). In describing the procession of the bride-groom's party on the occasion of the marriage of Rukmiṇī with Kṛṣṇa (Chapter 15 of the *Rukmiṇī-Svayaṃvara*) Ekanātha writes as follows :—

" भरूनि रजतम औषध ।
करूनि अग्नियंत्र संबद्ध ।
कृष्णापुढें अतिविनोद । एक प्रबुद्ध दाविती ॥ ११७ ॥
अग्नी लावुनी ठायीं ठायीं ।
ममता जाळिती हवई ।
गगना उसळली पाही । बुडोन ठायीं निमाली ॥ ११८ ॥
मोहयन्त्री सुमनमाळा ।
अग्निपुष्पें भासती डोळा ।
फुलें म्हणती अबला । पाहतां डोळा ते राख ॥ ११९ ॥
अतिलोभाची चिचुंदरी ।
अग्नि लावूनी टाकिली दूरी ।
पेटल्या पडती जनाचरी । उरी शिरी जाळीत ॥ १२० ॥
देऊन उपशम अनळा ।
जाळीती क्रोधाचा भुइनळा ।
भडभडा निघति ज्वाळा । तोही तत्काळ निमाला ॥ १२१ ॥
हाती धरूनि कृष्णलीला ।
जाळिती कामाचा हातनळा ।
धरू नेणती त्या बरळा ।
जिवी जिव्हाळा पोळती ॥ १२२ ॥ " etc.

In *Ovis* 123 and 126 Ekanātha describes the display of बाण (rocket) and the variety of fireworks called चंद्रज्योती. The names of fireworks found in Ekanātha's description of fireworks are :—

(1) अग्नियंत्र – A small gun or rocket.
(2) हवई – A firework which rises up in the air with a stream of fire.
(3) सुमनमाळा – A firework producing garlands of fire flowers.
(4) चिचुंदरी – A rocket which goes with a hissing sound (PR).
(5) भुइनळा – A firework kept on the ground and emitting a stream of fire sparks.

(6) हातनळा — A firework held in the hand and emitting a flow of fiery fire sparks.
(7) बाण — A rocket. (PR)
(8) चंद्रज्योती — A firework which emits fire, producing a moon-light effect. (PR)

In the above list of fireworks I have put the letters *PR* against those which are mentioned by Pratāparudradeva of Orissa in his formulas described in the *Kautukacintāmaṇi*. The names हवई, चिचुंदरी, भुइनळा, हातनळा, बाण and चंद्रज्योती are still current in the Deccan. These fireworks are still used in our marriage processions as they were used in Ekanātha's time in the 16th century.

From the evidence recorded so far about the history of fireworks in India it is clear that by A. D. 1600 the use of fireworks for entertainment purposes had become current in Gujarat, Mahārāṣṭra, Orissa, Vijayanagar, and even Sumatra. The history of fireworks in other parts of India is worth investigating from other regional sources with which I am not familiar.

(9) Another Mahārāṣṭra author, Saint Rāmadāsa (A. D. 1608–1682) refers to guns and fireworks in his varied writings. So far I have traced the following references in the *Rāmadāsa Samagra Grantha* (Poona, 1906):—

Page 345—नित्यनैमित्तिक विधिसंग्रह सोपान, मानसपूजा, *Prakaraṇa* 13—This section deals with the description of a *bhajana* or devotional singing accompanied with the display of fireworks:—

"दिवट्या हिलाल चंद्रजोती।
बाण, हवया झळकती।
नळे, चिचुंद्र्या धावती। चंचळत्वें ॥ ९ ॥
फुलबाजा, बंदुका खजिने।
पद्दे दांड भेदिती बाणें
अभिनव कीर्ती वाखाणे। भाट गर्जती ॥ १० ॥"

Page 588—युद्धकांड of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Śloka metre, *Prasaṅga* 13—A display of fireworks before King Rāma at night:—

"निशी प्राप्त झाली असंभाव्य दाटी।
बहु दीवट्या लक्ष कोट्यानुकोटी।
किती एक ते डंच नेळे उमाळे।
नळे जाळितां घोष तैसे उफाळे ॥ ३२ ॥

सवारां कुळें चालती अंबराळीं ।
कडाडीत घोंदे निराळीं निराळीं ।
भुरारां हवाया किती एक वेळां ।
बळें पाहती ऊर्ध्वनक्षत्रमाळा ॥ ३३ ॥
बहू औषधें दिव्य नानापरींचीं ।
किती एक तेजाळ तीं कूसरीचीं ।
घडीनें घडी तेजपुंजाळ होती ।
उजेडेंचि ते लोक लोकां पहाती ॥ ३४ ॥"

This is a fine description of a display of illuminations and varied fireworks before King Rāma. As fireworks were unknown in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in India and even in China it is an anachronism to insert any description of them in any story based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Being accustomed to displays of fireworks in his time, Saint Rāmadāsa could not but insert a description of them in his writings.

Page 621—Description of a festival on the completion of a Rāma temple at Chaphal (Satara District):—

"दिवट्या हिलाळ चंद्रज्योती ।
नळे भरवत उठती ।
बाण हवाया सरकती । गगनामध्यें ॥ १३ ॥"

Page 623—Advice to King Shivaji on *Kṣātra-dharma* :—

"जैसा भांड्यांचा गलोला ।
निर्भय आरामध्यें पडिला ।
तैसा क्षत्री सिवकला । परसैन्यामध्यें ॥ ६ ॥"

The expression "भांड्यांचा गलोला" refers to the use of cannons (भांडीं) in warfare.

The names of fireworks referred to by Saint Rāmadāsa in the above extracts are as follows:—

(1) हवाया—plural of हवई, mentioned by *Ekanātha*.
(2) बाण—mentioned by *Pratāparudradeva* and *Ekanātha*.
(3) नळे—plural of नळा, mentioned by *Ekanātha*.
(4) चंद्रज्योती—mentioned by *Pratāparudradeva* and *Ekanātha*.
(5) नक्षत्रमाळा—compare सुमनमाळा mentioned by *Ekanātha*.
(6) चिचुंद्रया—plural चिचुंद्री mentioned by *Ekanātha* and *Pratāparudradeva*.
(7) फुलबाजा—compare पुष्पवर्ति mentioned by *Pratāparudradeva*.

Almost all the fireworks mentioned in Rāmadāsa's works in the 17th century are used today. Rāmadāsa also mentions भांडीं (cannons), बंदुका (muskets), and कहिने (small cannons or mortars with gunpowder used for producing thundering sounds during pyrotechnic displays).

(10) We have seen above that the term बाण (*bāṇa*) in the sense of a firework has been used by Pratāparudradeva of Orissa (*c.* A. D. 1500), by Ekanātha (A. D. 1570) and by Rāmadāsa (*c.* A. D. 1650), but we have no means of visualizing this firework. Bernier in his *Travels* (Constable, London, 1891) in India (A. D. 1656-1668) helps us to understand this contrivance known as *bāṇa*, which he calls "*bannes.*" The following extract from his *Travels* describes "*bannes*" and its use in contemporary warfare:—

Page 48— Speaking of the battle between the Emperor Aurangzeb and his brother Morad-Bakche, Bernier observes: —

" ... here and there were placed men who threw *bannes*, which are a sort of grenade attached to a stick and which were thrown, from various parts of the line among the enemy's cavalry, and which produced the effect of terrifying the horses and sometimes of killing the men. "

Page 277—Describing elephant-fights at festivals celebrated at Delhi and Agra, Bernier refers in the following extract to the use of a firework called *cherkys*, used for separating the fighting elephants:—

".... The animals can be separated only by means of *cherkys*, or fireworks, which are made to explode between them ; for they are naturally timid, and have a particular dread of fire, which is the reason why elephants have been used with so very little advantage in armies since the use of firearms. The boldest come from Ceylon, but none are employed in war which have not been regularly trained, and accustomed for years in the discharge of muskets close to their heads, and the bursting of crackers between their legs."

The firework called *cherkys* in the above extract is in use today in Northern India. It is called चरकी (*carki*) in Bengal[13] and चरखी (*carkhi*) in the United Provinces[14] as reported to me by my friends Prof. D. C.

13. My friend Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya of Chinsura has sent to me a list of Bengali names of fireworks in which *carki* is found. He derives this name from the Sanskrit *cakra*.

14. My friend Dr. V. S. Agrawala has sent to me a list of fireworks manufactured at Lucknow (U. P.), among which I find no less than 9 varieties of *carkhi*.

Bhattacharya and Dr. V. S. Agrawala, to whom I am indebted for the information about fireworks which they have kindly supplied to me. It is worth while recording a complete glossary of the names of fireworks and allied terms now current in different provinces of India and Pakistan.

(11) In the glossary of non-Sanskrit terms called the *Rājavyavahārakośa*, composed by Raghunātha Paṇḍita by order of the Maratha King Shivāji the Great about A.D. 1676, he explains the term बाण (*bāṇa*) as अग्निनलिका or a tube filled with gunpowder.[15] I think that "*bannes*" mentioned by Bernier, who was a contemporary of Raghunātha Paṇḍita, is identical with *bāṇa*. In the 67th *Paṭala* of the work *Ākāśabhairava Kalpa*, a description of the Divali festival is given. In this connection the King is advised to witness a display of fireworks (बाणविद्या) at nightfall along with tributary princes, etc.:—

" सामन्तराजपुत्रादीन् समाहूयाथ तैस्सह ।
निशामुखे बाणविद्यां दृष्ट्वामालोक्य तत्परम् ॥ "

The Sanskrit word *Bāṇa* means an arrow. *Bāṇa* in the sense of a rocket appears in Indian sources after *c.* A. D. 1400. This word appears to be a non-Sanskrit word. It is for linguists to trace its history and etymology in non-Sanskrit sources.

(12) Tavernier (A. D. 1676) in his *Travels in India* (London, 1889) refers to the use of fireworks in India and Java in the following extracts :—

Page 258—Describing marriage ceremonies in India Tavernier states that nuptials are celebrated with pomp and great expenditure. "He (the bridegroom) borrows moreover for this ceremony from the Governor of the place and from other great nobles as many elephants as he can, together with show horses and they march about thus for a part of the night with fireworks which are thrown in the streets and open spaces."

15. See Page 12 of *Rājavyavahārakośa*, Poona, 1880. The pertinent verses containing terminology about the use of gunpowder read as follows:—

शस्त्रवर्ग— " यन्त्रव्यूहस्त्वाराबास्याद्बाणोऽग्निनलिका भवेत् ॥ १२९ ॥
नालीकं बरखंदाज नलीयन्त्रं तु बन्दुकम् ॥
तोफ नाम भवेदुल्का दारू नामाग्निचूर्णकम् ॥ १३० ॥
लघुयन्त्रं कबर्डीनं बम्बूरा तु शतघ्निका ॥
दीप्तिनाडं भवेत् काना गोलंदाज् यन्त्रक्षेपकः ॥ १३१ ॥"

Page 360—While speaking about the King of Bantam at the western end of Java Tavernier observes:—

"There were five or six captains seated round the room who were looking at some fireworks which the Chinese had brought such as grenades, fusees, and other things of that kind to run on the water; for the Chinese surpass all the nations of the world in this respect."

(13) The Marathi poet Śrīdhara (died *c.* A. D. 1730) refers as follows to the firework called "*candrajyoti*" in his work "*Harivijaya*," II, 129:—

"चंद्रज्योती चंद्राकार । तेजे अंबर प्रकाशे ॥"[16]

(14) In the *Peshwa Bakhar* by K. V. Sohoni, written towards the end of the Peshwa Period (edited by K. N. Sane, Poona, 1925, page 149), an account[17] of the Divali festival is given as follows:—

Mahādji Scindia (A.D. 1727-1794) informed Peshwa Savai Mādhavrāo (A. D. 1774-1795) as follows:—

"The Divāli festival is celebrated for four days at Koṭā (in Rājasthān), when lacs of lamps are lighted. The Rāja of Koṭā during these four days gives a display of fireworks outside the premises of his capital. It is called "दारूची लंका" or 'Laṇkā of fireworks.' During this display the image of Rāvaṇa is prepared and kept in the centre of the show. Images of *Rākṣasas*, monkeys and a big image of Hanumān are all prepared of gunpowder. The tail of Hanumān is then set on fire, and Hanumān begins to fly in the air setting fire to various houses in this Laṅkā of fireworks. Such a display is given by the Rāja of Koṭā during the Divāli festival.

The Peshwa ordered Mahādji to give a similar display of fireworks for his entertainment. Mahādji made all preparations within 15 days and the display was carried out on a dark night before the Peshwa and his Sardārs. The display took place at the foot of the Parvati Hill (near Poona) and was witnessed by the Peshwa and his Sardārs from the Parvati temple. It was a grand performance and was witnessed by the people of Poona in large numbers."

It appears from the above extract that displays of fireworks had become popular in Rajputana in the 18th century and that they were also used for royal entertainment on a grand scale.

16. See p. 33 of the Marathi *Śabdakośa* by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve.

17. I have referred to this account in my paper on the "History of Divāli Festival (Between c. A. D. 50 and 1945) published in the *Annals of the B. O. R. Institute*, Poona, Vol. XXVI, 1946, pp. 233-258.

(15) Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis published an article on "हिंदुस्थानांतील इंग्रजी आतषबाजी" (English Fireworks in India) in *Itihāsa-Saṃgraha*, Vol. I, No. 6, January 1909. Parasnis states:—

From the reign of Asafaddaula (A.D. 1775–1797), the Nawab of Lucknow, we find references to the attempts of the English to please Indian princes by their skill in the art of fireworks. About A. D. 1790, the English gave a remarkable display of fireworks at the court of the Nawab of Lucknow. A description of this display was sent to Nana Farnavis, the Chief Minister of the Peshwa at Poona, by his Vakil at Lucknow. This description is very interesting.

Parasnis has reproduced the entire letter of the Vakil in Marathi giving a detailed description of the displays of fireworks at Lucknow. I give below a brief summary of this letter:—

An English artist of the name of "Karār,"[18] expert in the art of fireworks, came to Calcutta. He gave displays of his skill in fireworks to the English at Calcutta and thus attained prominence. He was also properly rewarded by the English for his skill. The reputation of this artist spread far and wide in India. Two English officers at Lucknow of the names of "Iḍor" and "Alpu" wrote to the English at Calcutta to send the artist to Lucknow. The artist accordingly came to Lucknow and for six months he was busy preparing different fireworks. When the fireworks were ready "Iḍor" and "Alpu" arranged for their display with Mirza Amānī Hasanrajākhān and Haidarbeg Khān and Raja Mangatrao on a cloudless evening at their residence at Bibipur.

The English artist "Karār" made his fireworks ready. On a square pillar he placed a statue of fireworks and asked the persons assembled to shoot it with their guns with a view to starting the display of fireworks. Some Englishmen as well as Raja Javānsing and Mirza Amānī tried to shoot at the statue several times but missed their aim. As it was getting late the artist "Karār" with his own hand set fire to one of the fireworks to start the whole display. Immediately other fireworks caught fire and produced a veritable garden with fire flowers of orange, green and other colours. This display was quite spectacular and lasted for a time. Thereafter a column of fire blazed forth from a rocket and went high up in the sky and there split up into countless stars which, while falling down on the earth, were transformed into hooded serpents. Other fireworks blazed forth and went up in the sky and produced hundreds of fish, which fell

18. This artist "Karār" needs to be identified. The names "Karār," "Iḍor" and "Alpu" are queer transformations of English names.

down on earth like stars. Just at this time began the rainfall-like display of fireworks. From another firework arose a mosque. To heighten the pleasure of this unprecedented sight the spectators heard, high in the air, great noises of the firing of muskets and guns. These noises were so great that they were heard at Lucknow proper, though they were produced at Bibipur. As the display was coming to a close there arose from the blazing fire of a rocket a Sun of fire, which moved up high in the sky and illumined the whole *maidān* below. A similar display of the moon followed from a rocket. To close this display the artist produced a sun-like fire flower which went on whirling in the sky producing bright letters which could be seen distinctly and read by the spectators.

Thus came to an end this marvellous display of fireworks by the English artist "Karār," who was richly honoured and rewarded by the Nawabs present. All the spectators thanked the English for this excellent entertainment. The people then dispersed and went to their homes.

The display of fireworks about A. D. 1790 given by an English artist Karār before the Nawabs of Lucknow is important for the present history of fireworks of India. So far I have not discovered any evidence about such displays by European artists prior to A. D. 1790, before Indian spectators.

(16) In the *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (Edition of 1903, London, pp. 208-209) many dated references to the Divāli festival are recorded from A. D. 1613 to 1883. Among these references the following one contains a description of the Divāli illuminations accompanied with fireworks:—

A. D. 1820. The *Dewalee, Deepaulle* or Time of Lights takes place 20 days after the *Dussera* and lasts three days; during which there is feasting, illumination and fireworks. (T. Coats in *Tr. Lit. Soc. Bo.* ii, 211).

(17) The second marriage of Sayaji Rao II of Baroda was celebrated in A. D. 1820 with the use of fireworks costing about Rs. 3,000/-, as vouched by the following document in *Historical Selections* (Baroda Records) edited by C. V. Joshi, (Vol. VII, 1943, p. 925)

Letter No. 88, dated 23rd April 1820—Memo to Haribhakti for Rs. 18500/—. Out of this sum an amount of Rs. 3000/- was to be used for the preparation of fireworks:—

"३,००० अतसबाजी दारू करावयाची"

(18) Buchanan in his *Patna-Gaya Report*, published by the Behar Research Society, Patna (Vol. II, pp. 625-626) records the following remarks about the manufacturers of fireworks in Bihar about A. D. 1811:—

"Those who make fireworks are not superior to the *Atushbaz* usual in Bengal. The fireworks are chiefly employed at marriages. At other seasons the same people make gunpowder of which a good deal is used. The nations seem to delight in the noise of firearms and fire powder merely for pastime but many people in this district are constantly provided with arms and ammunition; as a defence against robbers or rather from family habits, considering themselves as born soldiers. They do not, however, parade in arms and few of them now appear in public with even swords."

(19) Edward Moor in his *Narrative* (of Operations against Tipu Sultan) London, 1794, gives a description of a rocket on p. 509 from Major Dirom's *Glossary*.

(20) In the *Ājñāpatra* of Rāmacandra Nīlakaṇṭha Amātya (edited by Urdhwareshe) there are several references to *Bāṇa* (rocket). This document is dated A. D. 1716.

(21) A small booklet called "दीपवाळी बहार" or "अग्निक्रीडा" by Lakṣmaṇa Pāmjī Khopkar (Bombay, Anglo-Vernacular Press), 1886 records the methods of manufacturing different fireworks for Divāli celebrations. The materials mentioned in this booklet are:—

(1) सोरा (सुर्याखार)—
(2) गंधक—Sulphur,
(3) कोळसा —Coal of शेर, तूर, आघाडा, देवदार, एरंड, मिरची, निवडुंग.
(4) बीड —
(5) मनशीळ —
(6) हरताळ —
(7) कापूर —Camphor.
(8) गुळी —
(9) सुरमा —Antimony.

Fireworks for which formulas are given in the booklet are:—

(1) नळे—(मोतिया, चमेली, शेवंती, अनार, सुरू, बैठकी)
(2) फुलबाजी
(3) चन्द्रज्योत (white, red, green)
(4) सुरसुऱ्या
(5) बाण
(6) बत्त्या
(7) बाबाजाची दारू
(8) बंदुकीची दारू

(9) सफेद तारे

(10) लाल तारे

(11) चिचुंद्रि

Many of the ingredients for the manufacture of fireworks mentioned in the above booklet are also found in the Sanskrit formulas for fireworks (*c.* A. D. 1500) recorded in the *Kautukacintāmaṇi* by Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa already referred to by me.

(22) An article on the manufacture of fireworks for Divali celebrations has been published in the Marathi magazine *Udyama* of Nagpur for October 1936, pp. 666-668 The fireworks mentioned in this article are :—

(1) आतषबाजी (white, blue, red, purple, green)

(2) टिकल्या

(3) फुलझडी

(4) फुलबाज्या

(5) भुईनळे

(6) चंद्रज्योती

(23) The modern Marathi poet Keśavasuta refers to fireworks in one of his poems as follows :—

"मोठे बाण ही चंद्रज्योती मधुनी त्या फुलबाज्या नळे"—केक. १२१

(See p. 1808 of *Śabdakośa* by Date and Karve)

(24) The following Marathi printed books about fireworks have been kindly brought to my notice by my friend Shri C. G. Karve[19] :—

(1) अग्निक्रीडा by Gaṇeśa Bābāji Māṭe (Litho Press, 1871).

(2) अग्निचमत्कार by Govinda Morobā Karlekar (Litho Press, 2nd edition, 1889).

(3) अग्निक्रीडा by Raṅganātha Sakhārāma Lāṭe (1894).

(4) आतषबाजी by Śaṃkara Yajñeśvara Garge (1927).

Information about fireworks has been given in such Marathi works as "हुन्नरकलासंग्रह," "उपयुक्तकलासंग्रह," "उपयुक्तकलाकलाप," "विविधकलाशतक," etc.

(25) Shri V. K. Bhave in his recent book called "पेशवेकालीन महाराष्ट्र" Poona, pages 362-63, makes some remarks on the आतषबाजी or fireworks in use during the Peshwa Period and in particular during the reign of Peshwa Savai Madhavarāo. The names of fireworks given in these remarks are :—

19. I am thankful to Shri Karve for the trouble taken by him in searching for printed Marathi writings on fireworks.

(1)	तावदानी रोषनाई	(8)	बाण
(2)	आकाशमंडळ तारांगण	(9)	पाणकोंबडी
(3)	चादरी दारूकाम	(10)	हातनळे
(4)	नारळी झाडें	(11)	कोठ्याचे नळे
(5)	प्रभाचमक	(12)	फुलबाज्या
(6)	कैचींची झाडें	(13)	महताफा
(7)	बादलगर्जे		

In concluding my notes on the history of fireworks in India I have to request other scholars to supplement them with additional evidence from datable sources. In the present paper I have recorded my evidence about the history of fireworks in India and provided it with the background of the history of fireworks in China and Europe as recorded by other scholars. I shall welcome evidence about the use and manufacture of fireworks in India prior to A. D. 1400 from any source, Indian or foreign. I want in particular evidence on the following points connected with this problem :—

(1) What person or persons brought the knowledge of fire-works to India ?

(2) What is the exact chronology of the transmission of fire-works to India ?

(3) Is there any evidence in Chinese, Persian or Arabic sources about the introduction of fireworks in India ?

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4. The Mounted Bowman on Indian Battle-Fields — From the Invasion of Alexander (B. C. 326) to the Battle of Panipat (A. D. 1761)*

J. RUSSELL SMITH in his article [1] on "*Grassland and Farmland as Factors in the Cyclical Development of Eurasian History*" makes the following remarks about the curious and striking part played by the horse from the steppes in man's affairs in Eurasia :—

(1) BISHOP thinks the Scythians may have been the first effective cavalrymen. Armed with a *Compound* [2] *bow*, which seems to have been an invention of the north, a cavalryman could ride circles around a charioteer. Hence the use of chariots in war declined in the near-east after the Assyrians, in the ninth century B.C., adopted cavalry from their enemies the Scythians.

(2) The chariot was distributed to Ireland and Korea between 2500 and 1000 B.C. After centuries of using the chariot as an instrument of war-fare men began to fight from the back of the horse. But it was more centuries before the stirrup was invented.

(3) Early uses of the horse sift down to this—meat supply, milk animals, assissant to the herdsman, the pet of princes, for pageantry, religious ceremonies, and war — especially war.

(4) The *horseman with a two-piece bow* was the greatest "blitz" before gunpowder. This *bow* seems to have brought cavalry to the fore. The horse-man with a *lance* was not so potent. This *bow* brought the horse to his Golden Age in the affairs of men. From the *beginnings of*

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* Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 84-46.

1. See *Smithsonian Report* for 1944, Pages 357-384, Publication No. 3792 of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1945.

2. Vide *Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* by Albert Neuburger (Eng. Trans. by Henry L. BROSE, 1930; Methuen and Co. London) pages 218-221 (The Bow, the Crossbow and Ballistic Machines). According to BROSE the *Compound Bow* was made of the *two pieces* of the same material joined together. The *Composite Bow* was made of a combination of different materials. The following points from NEUBURGER's remarks may be noted here :—

(1) The Simple Bow is the oldest. (2) The Wooden Bow was made of the yew tree or *taxus*. (3) Odysseus carried a *Composite* Bow made of *horn*. Long before Homer the *Composite* Bow was used by the Egyptians (Figure 288). One relic of this Bow dates from the time of Ramses II (*13th cent.* B. C.) and another from an Egyptian tomb of *7th cent.* B. C. The *Composite* Bow comes from Asia (Fig. 289) and is made of horn, wood and sinews. It can shoot an arrow as far as 1000 yards and can shoot right through a Bison. "This achievement cannot be equalled by the heavy colt revolver used by the American army."

Cavalry with the Scythians about the Ninth Century B.C. to the date of the effective use of gunpowder the *Calvalryman* of the Eurasian grasslands almost continuously harassed the settled cultures upon the grassland rim and smashed them at will.

(5) In the 9th century A.D., some one, apparently in France, invented the horse collar and traces. Then horses could pull a load and enter the economic realm.

(6) The great Wall of China was built to stop he marauding *mounted bowmen* of the Steppes between the 7th and 3rd centuries B.C. It is a monument to the horse.

(7) Gun-powder[3] and the railway reduced the grassland man to impotence.

I am concerned in the above remarks with the importance of the *mounted bow-man* who dominated war-fare for hundreds of years in human affairs on account of his mobility as a fighting unit. Accordingly I propose in this paper to record some references to the *mounted bow-man* or the use of the *bow* and *arrow* made by foreign cavalry in ancient and mediaeval periods of Indian history.

(1) In a treatise on archery called the *Dhanurveda* (MS[4] No. 54 of 1886–92 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) the author describes the शार्ङ्गधनुः and its uses as follows :—

folio 2— " शार्ङ्गं पुनर्धनुर्दिव्यं विष्णोः परममायुधम् ।
विततिस्सहस्रसंमानं निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ॥
न स्वर्गे न च पाताले न भूमौ कस्यचित्करे ।
तद्धनुर्वशमायाति मुक्त्वैकं पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥

3. As regards the use of Guns and Gun-powder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards, see my article on this subject in the *Denison Ross Volume*, Pages 117–124.

4. This MS is dated Samvat 1868 = A. D. 1812. Other MSS of *Dhanurveda* are *No. 407 of 1887–91* and *No. 558 of 1875–76*. Some particulars from these MSS may be noted below :—

(1) *No. 407 of 1887–91*— called " शिवोक्त धनुर्वेद " in the Colophon.

— verse 3 at the beginning refers to " वीरचिन्तामणि "— verse 1 reads :—

" ईश्वरोक्तात् धनुर्वेदात् व्यासेनापि सुभाषितात् ।
यथान्यायस्य रचितो ग्रन्थः संक्षेपतो मया ॥ १ ॥ "

(2) *No. 558 of 1875–76*— All the above details are found in this MS but the Colophon reads :—

" एते शिवधनुर्वेदस्य भगवतो व्यासस्य । इति शार्ङ्गधरविरचितायां चिंतामणिनाम्नि धनुर्वेदस्य परिच्छेदः ॥ "

(3) *No. 54 of 1886–92*— The text of this MS is same as those of the above two MSS but some portions found at the beginnings and ends of the above two MSS are missing in this MS. The colophon reads :— " इति युद्धविधिः इति धनुर्वेदः. "

पौरुषेयं तु यच्छार्ङ्गं बहुवम्परशोभितम् ।
चितस्तिभिः सार्द्धं षड्भिर्मितं सर्वार्थसाधनम् ॥
प्रायो योज्यं धनुः शार्ङ्गं गजारोहाश्वसादिनाम् ।
रथिनां च पदातीनां वांशं चापं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥
इति धनुःप्रमाणम् । "

The concluding verse of the above extract tells us that शार्ङ्गधनुः is to be used by warriors on elephant's back (गजारोहाः) and cavalrymen (अश्वसादिनः). It also tells us that वांश चाप or a bow made of वंश or bamboo is to be used by warriors in the chariot (रथिनां) and foot-soldiers (पदातीनां).

Folio 7—The following extract prescribes how the war chariot is to be equipped with *four bows* (कार्मुकाणां चतुष्टयं) and 400 arrows in quivers along with other weapons viz. –

खड्ग, गदा, शक्ति, परिघ, मुद्गर, नाराचान्, परशु, पट्टिश, चर्म, कुंत etc.

" रथे च धारयेत्तत्र कार्मुकाणां चतुष्टयम् ।
चतुःशतानि बाणानां तूणीरेषु प्रपूरयेत् ॥
खड्गं चर्म गदां शक्तिं परिघं मुद्गरं तथा ।
नाराचान्परशुं कुंतं पट्टिशादींश्च धारयेत् ॥ "

One who has no chariots or elephants should ride his horse [5] with the *quiver* at his belt and equipped with खड्ग, शक्ति and धनुः (bow) :—

" न रथा न गजा यस्य सोऽश्वमेव समारुहेत् ।
कटिबद्धैकतूणीरखड्गशक्तिधनुर्युतः ॥ "

Folio 8 — Under युद्धविधि the author informs us that *mounted bowmen* (शार्ङ्गं धनुर्धराः तुरगारूढाः) become irresistible on the battle-field :—

" धनुः संगति संयुद्धा वाजिनोमुखदुर्ध(म)काः ।
अ(आ)कर्ण पति(लि)ता योधाः संग्रामे अश्ववादिनः ॥
परस्परानुरक्ता ये योद्धाः शार्ङ्गधनुर्धराः ।
युद्धज्ञास्तुरगारूढास्ते जयंति रणे रिपून् ॥ "

Runaways from the battle-field should not be hunted by the powerful warriors for the reason that such men are likely to be infused with courage owing to their desperate condition :—

" भीरुः पलायमानोऽपि नान्वेष्टव्यो बलीयसा ।
कदाचिच्छूरतां याति मरणे कृतनिश्चयः ॥ "

5. Evidently preference was given to *chariots* and *elephants* as vehicles in warfare. The combination of the horse and a bowman, inspite of its advantage, was not looked upon with favour by Indians.

The extracts [6] quoted by me fully support the following extract on p. 97 of Prof. V. R. R. DIKSHITAR's "*War in Ancient India*" (Macmillan, Bombay, 1944):—

"In WILSON's words, 'the Hindus cultivated archery most assiduously and were very Parthians in the *use of the bow on horseback.*' [7] One feature of this weapon was that it could be handled by all the four classes of warriors."

Prof. DIKSHITAR quotes Arrian's *Indika* on the mode of equipping Indian soldiers for war but this quotation refers to foot-soldiers carrying bows and not the use of the bow by the cavalry.

MITRAMIŚRA (c. A. D. 1610–1640) in his encyclopaedic work *Vīramitrodaya*, in several divisions called "*Prakāśas,*" refers to several weapons of war (नानायुधलक्षण प्रकरण) in the *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa* (Vol. XX of Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares, 1916). In the account of these weapons he devotes pages 273–292 to *Dhanurveda* [8] or science of archery. The authorities quoted in this account are:—विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, वैशम्पायन, त्रैयम्बक धनुर्वेद, राजविजय, वीरचिन्तामणि धनुर्वेद. Much of the matter of this section is drawn from the वीरचिन्तामणि धनुर्वेद represented by five MSS in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The reference to the *use of the bow on horse-back* recorded by MITRAMIŚRA is found in the extract from the वीरचिन्तामणि धनुर्वेद quoted by me at the beginning of this paper viz.

"शार्ङ्गं पुनर्धनुर्दिव्यं ... ... । प्रायो योग्यं धनुःशार्ङ्गं गजारोहाश्वसादिनाम् ।
रथिनां च पदातीनां वांशं चापं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ "

6. I have quoted these extracts from *three* MSS of the title धनुर्वेद in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The text of this work is also represented by *two* more MSS in the above library viz.—

(i) *No. 138 of 1892-95* —वीरचिंतामणि धनुर्वेद—dated Samvat *1735* = A. D. *1679*—copied at "जलालाबाद"—ends as follows:—

"इति श्रीद्रोणभाषित वीरचिंतामणि धनुर्वेद समाप्तः"

(ii) *No. 62 of A. 1883-84* —The title on the label is वीरचूडामणि which is perhaps a misreading for वीरचिन्तामणि—

The colophon reads:—

"इति श्री वाहुजकुलालंकार श्री अदरगहमल्लात्मज—
श्रीविठ्ठलदासविलासे धनुर्वेदनिर्णयप्रकाशः"

7. I have not seen the authorities on which WILSON's reference to the Indian *use of the bow on horse-back* is based.

8. Someśvara (A. D. 1130) in his मानसोल्लास (Vol. II, G. O. Series, Baroda, 1939) pp. 162-169, deals with धनुर्विद्या and its feats but there is no reference in it to the use of the bow on horse-back.

In the section on swords (खड्गप्रशंसा), which follows the *Dhanurveda* section, MITRAMIŚRA quotes from the औशनस धनुर्वेद (p. 293). This quotation contains the following stanzas :—

" क्षितौ रथे वाजिनि कुञ्जरे वा
गृहे द्रुमे नागरके प्रमादे ।
सर्वत्र सर्वस्य च मार्गविन्द्र
परायणं स्याद् असिरेव नित्यम् ॥
धनुरिह शरपातादेव वै हन्ति शत्रून्
दहति रिपुसमूहं वाजिवह्निर्जवेन ।
सुभटकरगतस्तु क्षिप्रमभ्यासमात्रे
शमयति रिपुसेनां पातयोगेन खड्गः ॥ "

In the first stanza the all-round use of the *Sword* is emphasized, while in the second the use of the *Sword* on the battle-field is indicated. Perhaps the line " धनुरिह शरपातादेव वै हन्ति शत्रून् " has a reference to footsoldiers using the bow referred to by Arian in his *Indica*. The line " दहति रिपुसमूहं वाजिवह्निर्जवेन' ', which states that the fire of cavalry burns the hostile army by its speed, refers only to the extreme mobility of the horse. If, however, the entire second stanza is taken to be the description of a mounted सुभट or expert warrior armed with bow and arrows along with sword, we have here an admirable description of a *mounted bowman*. The subsequent stanzas in the quotation from the औशनस धनुर्वेद establish the superiority of the *sword* on the battle-field as follows :—

" मतङ्गजस्थो रथवाजिनो वा
शरक्षये शस्त्रगणक्षये च ।
समस्थितो वा विषमस्थितो वा ।
नरोऽसिना मर्दयतीह सर्वान् ॥
स्वच्छन्दे चापभङ्गे च विरथस्य विवाजिनः ।
शत्रुमध्यावतीर्णस्य नान्यत् खड्गात् परायणम् । "

In all disadvantageous situations created by the exhaustion of the supply of arrows and other weapons the warrior, whether mounted on an elephant, a chariot or a horse, can kill all who oppose him, by his *sword* alone. Even when the bow is broken and the warrior is dislodged from his chariot or horse, the *sword* alone is the resort of such a warrior surrounded by the army of the enemy.

The treatises on *Dhanurveda* from which I have noted some references to the *mounted bow-man* are not very old. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether the Indian cavalry before about 500 B. C. used the bow

from the horse-back. RUSSELL SMITH states that "*Scythians* may have been the first *effective* cavalrymen" because they were armed with a *compound bow*. If this statement is correct are we to presume that the *use of the bow from horse-back* was adopted by the Aryans in India from the Scythians? "The Assyrians in the *ninth century* B. C. adopted cavalry from their enemies the Scythians" — states RUSSELL SMITH. The Aryans who came to India brought the domesticated horse about 1600 B. C. and these "horsed-warriors defeated the elephant-armies of the natives of India" observes Mr. M. S. RANDHAWA in his recent article on the "Role of Domesticated Animals in Indian History."[9] Mr. RANDHAWA states that according to PEAKE and FLEURE the horse was first tamed in the Steppes of Central Asia and South Russia, which formed an immense grassland, where Erzewalskis horse is still found wild. If the Aryans used "the trained horse and the sword" against the elephant armies of the natives of India we have to inquire at what stage of their history they picked up the *use of the bow on horse-back* and from whom? Was it from the Scythians prior or posterior to their invasion[10] of India c. 150–140 B. C.?

In the account of the Bow and Arrow given by Mr. G. T. DATE[11] he discusses the following topics: —

(1) Use of the bow by all warriors of the world in the early stages of civilization.

(2) All ancient Indian warriors were expert shooters with the bow (e. g. the skill of Śrāvaṇa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Arjuna of the *Mahābhārata* in archery).

9. Vide p. 10 of *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, July 1946. The chronology of the *Horse and Cow Culture of Aryans* given by Mr. RANDHAWA is as follows :—

c. B. C. 1600 — The domesticated horse brought to India by the Aryan nomads — No evidence of horse on seals of Mohenjo Daro nor any bones of horse discovered. — The horse was domesticated even before 5000 B. C. — The training of the horse for war caused a great crisis in human history.

326 B. C. — Alexander's invasion of Northern Punjab demonstrated the superiority of the *horse* over the *elephant* in warfare.

1st century A. D. — The horse had established its superiority over the elephant as far east as Mathura as proved by a Kushan sculpture showing a procession of Horses with the *elephant* humbly following.

13th century A. D. — The horse-period reaches its acme in the horse-empire of the *Mongols*.

14th century onwards — The sailing ship of the Europeans put land transport into the background.

10. Vide p. 277 of SMITH : *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1914.

11. Vide pp. 11–15 of *Art of War in Ancient India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1929.

(3) Similarity of the bows and arrows used by Vedic Aryans and Eastern Iranians.

(4) There was no material change in the Vedic bow during the Epic period.

(5) The *Arthaśāstra* refers to four kinds of *bow*, some varieties of arrows, bow-strings etc.

(6) The *Bṛhat Śārṅgadhara Paddhati* deals with the bow and arrow in detail in its account of weapons.

(7) Certain signs of Indo-Sumerian Seals look like *arrows*.

(8) The bas-reliefs of Sanchi illustrate some of the weapons.

(9) Statement of the Greek historians that Indians used heavy bows.

(10) Representations of the bows on coins of *Candragupta II* and *Kumāra Gupta I* (shooting with the *bow* and *arrow*).

(11) Dravidians knew archery from the beginning of their written history.

(12) The *Agnipurāṇa* gives an account of *archery*.

In the discussion of the above topics Mr. DATE does not refer to the *use of the bow on horse-back*. In his account of "*War Animals and War Vehicles*" Mr. DATE refers to the following points which have a bearing on my present inquiry about the use of the bow on horse-back :—

(1) The Aryan invaders of India brought the *Turkoman* horse [12] with them to India (see *JRAS*, 1919, p. 507).

(2) During the Vedic period the horse was used mainly for *riding*, though there are some references to *riding in battle*.

(3) The Dravidians used the horse for riding.

(4) In the *Mahābhārata* time the horse was used in the army, although *no word equivalent to cavalry* could be found. Soldiers on horse-back fought alone and were treated as an inferior fighting force.

(5) By the time of Alexander's invasion the Indians had a respectable *cavalry*.

(6) Poros had 4000 horsemen (see p. 102 of *Invasion of Alexander*).

(7) The *horse* was never regarded in Ancient India as a superior fighting unit, and *elephants* and *chariots* occupied a position higher than cavalry.

12. Vide DR. M. B. PITHAWALLA's remarks on "Role of Animals" in the Early Aryan Home and settlements (*Indian Geographical Journal*, Karachi, October–December, 1945). The horse was a native of the Syr-Amu Darya doab which was the most likely Home Region of the ancient Aryan Family. Its name has gone into the surnames of the Iranian heroes and Kings, e. g. *Kerhasp*, *Arjasp*, *Gushtasp* etc.

(8) The defects of the *chariot* were revealed more than once in combats with foreigners.

In his above account of horse as a war-animal I find no reference to the *use of the bow on horse-back* by Ancient Indians of Alexander's time. In fact Poros was defeated by the *mounted bow-men* of Alexander at the *Battle of Hydaspes*. In this connection VINCENT SMITH observes as follows (p. 64 of *Oxford History of India*, 1923):—

"The *elephants* on which Poros had relied proved unmanageable in the battle and did more harm to their friends than to their foes. The *archers in the chariots were not a match for the mounted bowmen of Alexander*; and the slippery state of the ground hindered the Indian *infantry* from making full use of their *formidable bows, which they were accustomed to draw after resting one end upon the earth and pressing it with the left foot.*"[13]

It is clear from the above evidence that the superiority of the *mounted bowmen of Alexander* over the *infantry bow-men of Porus* was clearly demonstrated to the Indians at the Battle of Hydaspes in B. C. 326. It is, however, surprising that inspite of this demonstration Indians did not adopt the use of the bow on horse-back in their war-fare in succeeding centuries. Consequently it has become difficult to get any references to *mounted archery* in Sanskrit texts of the early period.[14]

In the *Holy Bible* (New Testament, Revelation, Chapter 6) I have traced the following references to the *mounted bow-man*:—

"2. And I saw, and behold a *white horse*: and *he that sat on him had a bow*, and a crown was given unto him: and *he went forth conquering and to conquer.*"

Really the *mounted bow-man* has gone forth through centuries of history "*conquering and to conquer*!"

13. See p. 82 of *Oxford History of India* (1923)—Vincent SMITH, speaking of the equipment of the army during the Maurya period observes:— "Each *horseman* was armed with *two lances* resembling the Greek *Saunia* and was protected by a *buckler*. The principal *weapon of the infantry* was a straight *broad sword* suspended by a belt from the shoulder; *Javelins* and *bows* and *arrows* were additional arms. The arrow was discharged with the aid of pressure from the left foot on the extremity of the bow resting on the ground and with such force neither shield nor breast-plate could with-stand it". (See the picture of the of *Veddah bow* reproduced by SMITH on this page).

14. DR. R. K. MOOKERJEE in his "*Candragupta Maurya and His Times* (Madras University, 1928) refers to some sculptures representing soldiers as follows:—

P. 276 — Sculptures of soldiers wearing *swords, bows and arrows* on Sanchi topes (*1st cent.* A.D.).

At this stage of our inquiry I have to record the following reference to *mounted-bowmen* in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*[15] (B. O. R. Institute, Critical Edition, I, 124, 24) :—

"ते स्म लक्ष्याणि विविधुर्बाणैर्नामाङ्कशोभितैः ।
विविधैर्लाघवोत्सृष्टैरुह्यन्तो वाजिभिर्द्रुतम् ॥ २४ ॥"

I have to request other scholars to point out to me some more references to mounted archery from the *Mahābhārata*,[16] *the Rāmāyaṇa* or any other Sanskrit texts of the early period say before A. D. 500. If Droṇācārya and his pupils in archery knew the *use of the bow on horseback* as early as the *Mahābhārata* war we have to explain why Porus and his cavalry did not adopt it in practice against the mounted bowmen of Alexander. I strongly hope that our Mahābhārata scholars will explain

—" The bas-reliefs represent nearly all the *foot-soldiers as archers*, which is in accord with the statement of Megasthenes."

P. 277.—In the foreground of the picture are three warriors armed with *Parthian bow* and short straight *sword of Roman shape* ;—they also wear cross-straps for carrying their quivers.

DR. MOOKERJEE speaks of *Indian soldiers fighting in Europe* in the 5th century B. C. " As early as 480 B. C. the army of Xerxes which invaded Greece comprised an Indian contingent clad in cotton garments (probably *Sūtrakaṇṭaka* of Kauṭilya) and armed with *cane bows* and *iron-tipped cane arrows*."

15. In the account of the display of skill in archery in the *Jatugṛahadāhaparva* of *Ādiparvan* the reference to mounted bowmen is traced in verse 24. S. C. MUKHOPADHYAYA in his English Trans. of the MBH. (Calcutta, 1899, pp. 278-279) translates this verse as follows :—

" The princes *riding on fleet horses* began to pierce the targets, quickly *discharging various arrows* on which their respective names were beautifully engraved ". (In the Chitrashala Edition of *Ādiparvan*, Poona, 1929, we have the reading बिभिदुः for विविधुः and उह्यन्तो for उह्यन्तो in verse 24). In the following verses which follow the use *of the bow from the chariots* is referred to :—

" कृत्वा धनुषि ते मार्गान्रथचर्यासु चासकृत् ।
गजपृष्ठेऽश्वपृष्ठे च नियुद्धे च महाबलाः ॥ २७ ॥
गृहीतखड्गचर्माणस्ततो भूयः प्रहारिणः ।
त्सरुमार्गान्यथोद्दिष्टांश्चेरुः सर्वासु भूमिषु ॥ २८ ॥ "

16. J. TALBOYS WHEELER in his *History of India* (London, 1880), p. 6, refers to " *Public Exercises* " described in the *Mahābhārata* as follows:—

" Droṇa and his son *Aśwatthāma* then entered the arena in white garments, and chanted the praises of Indra and the gods. The princes followed with their weapons in their hands and kissed the feet of their preceptor. *They began by shooting arrows* at a butt, *first on foot, and afterwards from horses, elephants and chariots* ". (Cf. *Mbh.* I, 124, 27—" कृत्वा धनुषि ते मार्गान्रथचर्यासु चासकृत् । गजपृष्ठेऽश्वपृष्ठे च नियुद्धे च महाबलाः ॥ ").

this riddle some day. For the present I venture to suggest that the reference to *mounted archery* appearing in the text of the Mahābhārata has been inserted at a time, when Indians came to know it as a result of their contact with Scythians or Śakas, who invaded India about 150–140 B. C.

Though Indians did not develop the art of using the bow on horseback, foreigners from Central Asia residing in India practised it long prior to A. D. 500 as will be seen from the following evidence :—

RAMCHANDRA KAK in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933) describes in detail the excavations at Harwan, a village about 2 miles beyond the Shalimar garden in Kashmir. In these excavations a wonderful pavement of the courtyard round a temple has been discovered. This pavement consisted of large moulded brick tiles, having various shapes and different patterns (Plate XIX). There are several pictures stamped on these tiles, among which I find " *archers on horseback*[17] *chacing deer and shooting arrows at them* " as follows :—

Plate XXIII, 3 — " On a horse fully accoutred, horseman in armour riding at full gallop and *drawing his bow*. On his right side, attached to the saddle, hangs his quiver. Two ends of drapery flutter at his back. " *Kharoshthi numerals* 1, 4, 10 = 15.

Plate XXVIII, 14 — "*A mounted hunter aiming an arrow* at a fleeing deer. "

Do —, *18* — " Upper part of an *archer* wearing *conical cap*."

Plate XXIX, 20 — " A huntsman with bow and arrow riding at full gallop. " *Kharoshti numerals* : 1, 4, 20, 20, 20 = 65.

The pictures of the mounted bow-man on three different tiles leave no doubt that at the time the tile-pavement was constructed the *use of the bow on horse-back* was made by some residents of Kashmir, either native or foreign.

As regards the *date of the tiles* Mr. KAK observes as follows :–

Page 109 — (1) Each one of these tiles bears a number in *Kharoshthi* script.

17. These pictures of *mounted bowmen hunting deer* may be contrasted with Kālidāsa's description of King Duṣyanta (शाकुन्तल Act. I, 6) hunting a deer seated in a chariot and armed with bow and arrow (कृष्णसारे ददच्चक्षुस्त्वयि चाधिज्यकार्मुके । मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम् ॥ ६ ॥). The ground was full of hollows, hence the charioteer slackened the speed of the chariot by drawing in the reigns.—The *mounted bowman* on Harwan tiles *chasing deer at full gallop* apparently had no difficulties of the type experienced by Duṣyanta in his chariot hunting a deer.

(2) The *Kharoshthi* script *ceased* to be in vogue in north-western *India about 5th century* A. D. The tiles are, therefore, much older in date than this time.

Page 110 —(3) The *date of the tiles*, and of the diaper pebble masonry with which they are associated is "*about* A. D. *300*."

(4) The above date is further supported by the following data:—

(i) The *physiognomy* and *dress* of men and women (on the tiles) are wholly unlike that of any races in Kashmir today.

(ii) The facial characteristics etc., *trousers* and *Turkoman caps* of the persons represented on the tiles show them to be *Central Asian*.

(iii) Kashmir had connection with *Central Asia* during the *Kushan Period*, when the Kushan rule extended from Mathura to Yarkand.

(iv) Some pious and prosperous Kushan must have built the Harwan shrine (with its tiled pavement).

"Among the *foreign decorative motifs* which reveal *foreign influence* are the figures of *mailed horse men* with flying scarves tied to their heads, which are strongly *reminiscent of the contemporary Sassanian art of Persia*."

The above evidence of the sculptures of *about* A.D. *300* depicting the *mounted bowmen* leads us to suggest that the *reference to the mounted archery* in the *Ādiparvan* of the Mahābhārata has been inserted during the rule of the Kushan or Indo-Scythian Dynasty in India (from about A. D. 20 to A. D. 225) or more broadly between c. B. C. 150 and 300 A. D., when the text of the *Mahābhārata* may have assumed a settled form. I now request our *Mahābhārata* scholars to see if this suggestion is acceptable to them.[18]

So far I have recorded the following evidence about the *mounted bowmen* on the Indian battle-field:—

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18. My friend Rao Bahadur K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR of Madras writes to me in this connection in his letter of 22-7-1946 as follows:—

"I have seen in the Madura temple and in one or two other temples *figures of horseman* armed with *javelins* and *swords*, but *not bows*. There are representations of *Satyabhāmā using a bow*, when seated *on the shoulders of Garutmān*. Rāma was seated on Hanumān's shoulders when he fought with Rāvaṇa. — These figures are of the late *Vijayanagar* period. — I do not remember any instance in our literature of *archer cavalry* and my impression is the same as that of Russell Smith, with the variation that I regard *Persia*, not Scythia *as the original home of the mounted archer*. You have selected an intriguing topic which has escaped (in spite of its importance) the attention of scholars till now."

(1) Defeat of Porus by the mounted bowmen of Alexander the Great (B.C. 326).

(2) Reference to the display of *mounted-archery* in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 124, 24).

(3) Reference to the use of *Śārṅga* bow by riders of elephants and horses in the *Dhanurveda* (B. O. R. I. MS No. 54 of 1886–92— " प्रायो योज्यं धनुः शार्ङ्गं गजारोहाश्वसादिनाम् "). This treatise also refers to " शार्ङ्गधनुर्धराः तुरगारूढाः योद्धाः " and prescribes *the use of the bow on horse-back by one who has neither chariots nor elephants* (" न रथा न गजा यस्य सोऽश्वमेव समारुहेत् । कटिबद्धेकतूणीरखड्गशक्तिधनुर्युतः ").

(4) Three pictures of *mounted bowmen* hunting deer on the tile-pavement (at *Harwan* in Kashmir) of about A. D. 300. According to RAMCHANDRA KAK these *bow-men on horseback* are not Indian but foreigners from Central Asia.

In Duarte Barbosa's account of Gujarat at the death of Mahmud Begada (A. D. 1515) recorded by M. S. COMMISSARIAT in his *History of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1938), Chap. XX, pages 354 ff., we find a detailed description of the *methods of warfare* adopted by the Sultan of Gujarat. The following points in this description are noteworthy:—

(1) The Gujarat sovereign employed a corps of *war-elephants* in accordance with Indian traditions; some of these animals were brought from Malbar and Ceylon at a cost of about £ 750 each.

(2) Three or four men seated in *howdahs* on each elephant used *bows, arrows, hand-guns* etc. against the enemy.

(3) The *cavalry* was composed of horses, bred in the country. The riders were *expert horse-men*, seated on high-pommelled saddles each carrying a strong round *shield, two swords, a dagger*, and a *Turkish bow with very good arrows*.

(4) The *warriors* were mostly *Persianized Turks*, with whom the Persian game *Changan* (Polo) was a favourite pastime.

It is clear from the above account of Barbosa that the *use of the bow on horse-back* was made in the *Gujarat army of c. 1515 A. D.* by *Persianized Turks* and not by Indians.

About 150 years later than Barbosa's observation of the *use of the Turkish bow on horse-back* by the army of the Sultans of Gujarat we have the following observations about the effective use of mounted archery recorded by Bernier in his *Travels* (*A. D. 1656–1668*), (Constable, London, *1891*):—

Pages 47–48 — Speaking of the army of Dara Shukoh used against Aurangzeb, Bernier observes :—

" The rest of the army consisted principally of *Cavalry*, armed either with *sabers* and those kind of *half-pikes* used by the *Ragipous*[19] (Rajputs); or with *sabres* and *bows and arrows which latter weapon is generally used by Mogols* that is (according to the present acceptation of the term *Mogol*) foreigners whose complexions are white, and who profess *Mahometanism*; such as *Persians, Turks, Arabs* and *Uzbeks*. "

The *superiority of the mounted archery even over musketeers* is further vouched by Bernier as follows:—

Page 48 —It cannot be denied that the *cavalry* of this country manoeuvre with much ease and *discharge their arrows with astonishing quickness; a horsman shooting six times before a musketeer can fire twice.* "

In our story of the *mounted bow-man* we have started with 326 B. C., when Alexander defeated Poros on the strength of his mounted bowmen, and come to about *1660* A. D., when the Mogol army, consisting of *Persians, Turks, Arabs* and *Uzbeks*, was still using the *Turkish bow* on *horse-back* with great force and advantage. It is a pity that the Indian soldiers failed to adopt this effective method of warfare, even when they had visible demonstration of its superiority during a period of about 2000 years !

From Bernier's account of the use of Turkish bow by the Mogol army we come to the *Battle of Panipat* (A. D. 1761) an exhaustive account of which has been recorded by Prof. T. S. SHEJWALKAR in his brilliant monograph " *Panipat : 1761* " (published by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1946). Speaking of the weapons employed by the *Marathas* and the *Afghans* at this battle, Prof. SHEJWALKAR observes :—

Page 89 — " Now a *cavalry* battle fought with *lance* and *sword* on the *Maratha side* and *musketry* and archery on the *other side* (Afghan side) began in good earnest. It is certain that the *Afghan* cavalry under Ahmad Shah had more *musketeers, match-lockmen* and *archers* amongst them than were to be found in the Maratha army. Each Maratha of note had possibly a *hand-gun* by his side but he had neither love for it, nor expertness at its use. He preferred *lance* and *spear* at a short distance to the clumsy[20] *bow* and *arrow* or heavy long *match-lock* of those days. "

19. Evidently the *Rajputs* in the Mogol army did not care to adopt the *use of the bow on horse-back*, which was a special feature of the Mogol warfare.

20. Contrast this statement with BERNIER'S statement that a horse-man of the Mogol army could shoot his arrows six times before a musketeer could shoot twice. *Lance* and *Spear* were good weapons at close range but they were not effective against mounted archery.

Page 93 — "Now the battle entered its most desperate stage. The fight was a close combat with *sword, spear, lance, dagger* and *knife* ... . "by Ahmad Sultan's good fortune" an arrow *struck Vishwasrao* killing him outright."

The effect of the death of Vishwasrao had a disastrous effect as we learn from the subsequent account of this battle. I presume that the arrow that killed Vishwasrao was from the *mounted bow-man* from the *Afghan cavalry.*

It will now be seen from what has been said and recorded above that from B. C. *326*, when the *mounted bowmen* of Alexander defeated the Indians under King Poros upto A. D. *1761*, when the *mounted-bowmen* of Ahmad Shah Abdāli routed the Maratha army, the Indian soldiers and their sovereigns did not care to study and practice *mounted-archery* inspite of its demonstrable superiority even over the crude muskets of Shivaji's time.[21]

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21. In the *Ājñāpatra* of Rāmacandra Nīlakaṇṭha Amātya dated *21st November 1716* he includes *archers* (तिरंदाजी) in the formation of the *Hujarāt* or standing army of the Maratha king (See p. 17 of आज्ञापत्र, ed by V. G. Urdhvareṣe, Indore, 1939 —

" आधी हुजरात सजावी. लष्कर, हशम, आडाव, बंदुकी, तिरंदाजी, करोल, असें पंचरूद जमाव ठेवावें." P. 7 — " लष्कर, हशम, बंदुकी, तिरंदाज, आदिकरून ... वारदान ठेऊन etc.)

Here the musketeers (बंदुकी) and archers (तिरंदाज or तिरंदाजी) are mentioned side by side, but the *archers* mentioned here are *foot-soldiers* armed with bows and not mounted bow-man. — For the use of archery in England upto the time of Henry VIII of England (A. D. *1491-1547*) see article on *Archery* in the *Encylo. Britannica.*

5. The History of the Stirrup in Indian and Foreign Horsemanship—Between B. C. 852 and 1948.*

The horse has been the friend of man from remote antiquity in peace and war. The Aryans in India have made use of the horse from the time of the *Ṛgveda* up to the present day for offence and defence. In the military history of India as also that of the people of the other nations of the world the history of cavalry is associated with deeds of heroism and romance, which fill many pages of the history of the world. The use of the cavalry in India from the Mauryan times upto the present day has been proved by historical records of the different periods of Indian history. The importance of the cavalry ceased, however, in the recent second great world war (1939–1945) owing to the use of armoured cars, aeroplanes and other modern scientific weapons of warfare and finally came the *Atom Bomb*, with its mysteries and miracles, not to say an undreamt feeling of horror which still pervades the modern civilized world.

Whatever be the future military weapons of the so-called civilized nations of the world, the respect for the horse, which has been the friend of man for more than 4000 years, can never disappear from the human breast. The cultural history of the horse has been as enchanting as its military history. The Central Asia has been the home of horses for thousands of years and some of the races of antiquity like the Śakas or Scythians were expert riders, who made use of the bow and arrow from horse-back and hence were found invincible in land-warfare wherever they went.

The history of Indian horsemanship is quite a fascinating subject for the student of Indian military history. The taming of the horse, its use for riding or carriage purposes, the care of the horse, the selection of horses for carriage and such other matters connected with horse-culture and horse-breeding have been considered at great length in Indian and foreign books on horse-craft. I have read many works on the अश्वायुर्वेद and allied subjects but have failed to notice in them any reference to the *stirrup*, with the history of which I propose to deal in the present paper. My evidence though scanty is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the stirrup for more than 2500 years. Its appearance in Indian history appears to be later than about 100 B. C.

* B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly, 1948, pp. 1–14.

There is no word for the *stirrup* in Sanskrit or Prakrit. Mr. Apte in his *English–Sanskrit–Dictionary* (2nd Edition, p. 413) mentions " पादग्रहणी, पादधारणी " as equivalents for the *stirrup*. Evidently these are coined words. In his *Sanskrit English Dictionary* he does not record these words and their meanings. The words for the *stirrup* in the different vernaculars of India are being collected by my friend Dr. Siddheswara Verma and they will be recorded by me or Dr. Verma in a subsequent paper on this subject.

The absence of any Sanskrit word for the *stirrup* may suggest its foreign origin, though we cannot say that the *stirrup* was quite unknown in India even in pre-Musalman times. Unfortunately I have not found any literary evidence about its use by Indians except the following extract in the section on the game of Polo (तुरगवाह्यालीविनोद) in the encyclopaedic Sanskrit work called the the मानसोल्लास or अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि composed by the Cālukya King Someśvara about *A. D. 1130* :—

While describing the horses to be made ready for the royal Polo, Someśvara refers to " पादाधारैः " or *Stirrups* of gold, hanging down on both the sides of the horse—

(*Page 221* of मानसोल्लास, Vol. II, Baroda, 1939)

— " तानेवं शिक्षितानश्वानादायात्यन्तमुत्तमान् ॥ ८३ ॥
सज्जीकुर्याच्च पर्याणैर्दन्तिदन्तविनिर्मितैः ।
... ...
पादाधारैश्च सौवर्णैर्लम्बिभिः पार्श्वयोर्द्वयोः । "

Page 224 —Pair of stirrups is referred to as " पादाधारयुगं " in the following verses :—

— " अन्तर्वंशगां समाकृष्य बहिर्वंशा(ला)कृताश्रयः ।
दृढोक (रु) श्लथजङ्घश्च स्थिरहस्तोऽश्वयासनः ॥ १८ ॥
विस्तृतोरस्थलश्चैव बाह्यकर्णाग्रदन्तदृक् ।
अङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण सम्पीड्य पादाधारयुगं दृढम् ॥ १९ ॥ "

In the above extracts of c. A. D. 1130 the term " पादाधार " for the stirrup appears to be a coined one like " पादधारणी " coined by Apte as we have seen above.

The Persian name for Polo is *Chaugān* or horse-golf. For many centuries it was the game of Kings and Courts over all Mahommedan Asia. (Vide p. 191 of *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903). In the Middle Ages this game came from Persia to Byzantium sometime

before "the beginning of the 8th century." There are constant metaphors about this game in Persian literature. The fullest description of the game as played at Constantinople is given by *Johannes Cinnamus* (c. A. D. 1190). It remains to be proved if this game called "तुरगवाह्याली विनोद" by Someśvara was introduced into India after the Muslim conquest of Sind in A. D. 712 or earlier. At any rate the use of the *Stirrup* in the game of Polo as played at the Cālukya court about A. D. 1130 is very important as it proves the currency of the stirrup in Indian horsemanship more than 800 years ago.

Another reference to the *Stirrup* is found in the lexicon राजव्यवहारकोश (Poona, 1880) prepared by Raghunātha Paṇḍita by order of Shivaji the Great about *A. D. 1676*. In the section of this glossary or lexicon, which is called चतुरङ्गवर्ग dealing with military terms current in the 17th century we find several terms about the cavalry and horsemanship including the accoutrement of the horses, such as the following with their explanations in Sanskrit:--

पागा = मन्दुरा	भीडन = तुरगासनपृष्ठम्
सिराखोर = अश्वरक्षकः	हगा = तुरगासनशुण्डा
इस्क = पर्यांणी	पेशबंद = पुरोबन्धः
चाहतीर = आंधिक	जेबंन्द = तीक्ष्णताडनी
रिकेब्दार = तोत्रधरः	शिकाबंद = कुक्षिरज्जुः
कावाडी = घासवाहकः	साख्ता = जघनपत्रकम्
नालबंद = खुरत्रबंधकः	फुंदणा = गुच्छः
अन्तझूलि / झन्झ० } = परिस्तोमः	इरदा = मणिः
दवामन = पीवाबन्धः	घंग = किङ्किणी
गडखोल = निगाळः	सडका = चामरम्
भौंवरकडी = निगाळवलयम्	जलाजल = पुरःकिङ्किणिका
चमड् = शिरोदंशवारणम्	सर्वली = शिरश्चर्म
पायबंद = पादबन्धः	लाळे = ओष्ठबन्धनम्
झुम्नामा = पाशकः	रिकीब = पादारोहिणी
दस्कला = चर्मनिगड	रिकीबदाल = (आरोहिण्याः) चर्म
नाल = लोहनिगड	दुमची = पुच्छबन्ध
सरोसर = प्रोथचर्म	तंग = कक्ष्याबन्ध
लगाम = खलीनकम्	तंगकडी = कुक्षिबन्धवलयम्
तुर्कमान = खलीनरश्मि	पुस्तंग = वरत्रा
खोगीर = कल्याणम्	हयासा = ग्रन्थिचर्म

जीन = तुरगासनम्	पाखरगांशा = अश्वकवचम्
दावण = तुरगासनपक्ष	लगामपटा = अश्वमुखभूषणम्
मुस्तफा = दावणाग्रतन्तवः	ताजा = अश्वमुखकवचम्

In the above terminology the term रिकीब for the *stirrup* is explained as आरोहिणी i.e. a contrivance which helps a rider to climb up the horse while the मानसोल्लास calls it पादाधार i. e. foot-support or foot-rest. In fact the *stirrup* not only helps a rider to climb up the horse but also serves as a foot-rest while riding. The words पादाधार and आरोहिणी are evidently coined words as there was no word in the Sanskrit language for this contrivance when the Indians adopted it from foreigners.

There is an illustrated manuscript of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in the Government Manuscripts Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It contains about 130 coloured illustrations by a Muslim painter. This manuscript was copied at Jodhpur in *A. D. 1648*. There are pictures in this manuscript representing some battle-scenes with horse-men. These horse-men are shown as using *metallic stirrups* and armed with weapons like the bow and arrow, swords, lances etc. We may find the pictures of the stirrup in other Indian paintings prior to the 17th century also.

The foregoing evidence proves the use of the *stirrup* in Indian horsemanship from c. A. D. 1100 upto the present day. As regards its use in India prior to A. D. 1100, I made inquiries with scholars interested in this problem. I record below most gratefully their replies to my letters, which throw a flood of light on the history of the stirrup in India and outside:–

(1) Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, C. I. E., M. E., Director General of Archaeology in India wrote to me from New Delhi on 7–4–1948 :–

" With reference to your letter of the 2nd April : For the stirrup I have no extensive literature here. It occurs quite early, however, in Central Asia and in China, where it is found in the *Han* and *Tang* periods. The Sarmatians also used it in the *1st Centuries B. C.– A. D.* See for example M. Rastovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, (Oxford, 1922), pp. 121 and 130. I have not yet investigated the earliest occurrence in India but I expect it reached India from the Sarmatians, very likely via the great trade-route to North-West India through the Hindu Kush. It would, however, be a matter of some interest to re-examine early Indian sculptures and paintings with the problem in mind. "

(2) Dr. Moti Chandra, M. A., Ph. D., Curator, Art Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in his letter of 30–4–48 sent me the following valuable remarks on the *stirrup* :—

" As far as my knowledge goes there is no representation of the *stirrup* in the bas-reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi.

However, a kind of *stirrup made by looping* a rope appears on the lowest beam of a *toraṇa* archway in the railing round a *stūpa*, which was recovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā (The *Jain Stupa of Mathura*, p. 22, by V.A. Smith, Allahabad, 1901). This railing has been assigned on good grounds by Smith to *100 or 50 B.C.* The reverse of the *toraṇa* beam represents a procession about to visit some sacred place. The *horseman* heading the procession has his feet resting in a *looped rope* or may be a *leather strap* (Pl. XV). There is, however, no sign of *iron stirrup* as we find in *Mugal paintings*.

The same kind of *looped rope* or *strap*, whatever you may choose to call it, appears on a *loṭā* in the Indian Museum discovered by Major Hay in 1857 at Kundlah in Kulu (*The Industrial Arts of India*, p. 154, Pl. 12, by George C. M. Birdwood, London, 1880). The decoration on the *loṭā* is made up of a procession scene, in which there are musicians, a chariot, two *horsemen* and an elephant.

The horsemen have *foot-rests* exactly of the same shape as described above. The *loṭā* has been dated to *200-300 A. D.* but on stylistic grounds it could be dated at least two hundred years earlier.

The sculptural evidence, therefore, proves that such kind of *foot-rest was known in India in the first century B. C. but before that it was unknown.* We can, therefore, put a suggestion that *probably it was an innovation introduced by the Śakas in the first century B. C.* It is, however, difficult to say when the regular *iron-stirrup* was introduced in this country, but as it was *common in the Mongolian tribes of Central Asia after the sixth century*, as the recent Russian excavations have found out, the Indian stirrup also points out to the same source. In this connection I may also point out to you that *in Garhwal hills looped ropes are still used as stirrups.* There are some technical words about a horse's equipment in the *Harṣacarita*. Dr. V. S. Agrawal has made special study of them. Some of these words have not yet been explained satisfactorily and may be of foreign origin."

(3) Dr. J. M. Unwalla, M. A., Ph. D. wrote from Bombay on 30-4-48 :–

" As regards your inquiry about the *Stirrup* and its invention, I am unable to say any thing definitely. Sassanian bas-reliefs do not show the stirrups used by horsemen. In modern Persian the Arabic word *rikāb* is used for it. Again the *Arabian Nights* describes Sindbad teaching peoples of Further India the use of stirrups. This much for Iran.

In *Draxt i Asūrik* in Pahlavi published by me with translation and notes in *BSOS*, II, part IV, 1923, p. 655, we have Pahl. *saxtak* for "riding equipage," Modern Pers. *saxt* "the girth or surcingle of a horse together with his armour covered on both sides with felt cloth (*Steingass*); on p. 657–we have *Zen*, "Saddle."

I think the best answer to your questions can be got from funeral clay figurines of horsemen discovered in early Chinese graves many of which form also proud exhibits of several European museums.

We have in our University Library, Max Ebert,, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, Berlin, 1924–32–Bd. XII—Article on *stirrup* by Eckhard Unger runs as follows :—

'The *stirrup* was not in use in the Near East (Vorder asien), but the idea of a stirrup was not unknown. We have up to date only one example, that of the Assyrian King Salmanasser III, who is shown using a *privisory stirrup*, while riding along a difficult stony path near the course of the Tigris on the occasion of consecrating in *852 B. C.* His own Rock bas-relief. A board 12ft. long and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot broad bound with strings, serves him as a support for the feet [s. relic DIJI of the bronze gate of Ingur–Enlil. Comp. E. Eckhard, *Assyrische in Babylonische Kunst* 1927, p. 30, Illustration 41].

This stirrup is thus the oldest stirrup of antiquity. In Europe, the stirrup appears as late as the early middle Ages, "

Dictionairre des Antiquite's classiques might give further information but we have not got it here in Bombay."

(4) Dr. H. Goetz, Ph. D. Curator of the Baroda Museum and Art Gallery wrote to me on 18–5–48 as follows:—

"As far as I remember the *stirrups* are closely connected with the problem of heavily armed cavalry. A rider in a heavy armour was not so easily able to maintain his seat on horse-back and, when slipping, more helpless because the weight of the armour, would drag him down as soon as he lost his balance. Stirrups thus were a necessity. Now easily armed cavalry was used especially by the Parthians and the Sassanians. Thus the introduction of stirrups in India must coincide with their rule, over North Western India. Also the Chinese had stirrups, if I remember correctly, already in the *Han* times. Thus they must have known them. However, the Guptas did not know them (at Ajanta all horsemen are without stirrups). Also the Rajputs did not use them, at least not before the 16th Century, when the Muslim armour was introduced. But

I should think that the Muslims had them. On Persian Miniatures of the Ilkhani period, at least, stirrups are the rule."

The foregoing remarks about the history of the stirrup in India, Assyria, Central Asia, Arabia, China, Iran, Europe etc. are very informative and helpful in my present inquiry as they give us a very comprehensive historical perspective to the stirrup as a human invention, its origin and development as vouched by historical evidence, much of which is archaeological and consequently reliable. I note below some more notes on the *Stirrup* which I have gathered during the course of my investigations in connection with this problem: —

(1) The Stirrup in the Khmer or Indo-Chinese Art – 8th Century A. D.

In the Art journal *Śilpi* of Madras for April 1948 there is an article on the "*Art of Greater India, Khmer Sculpture*" by Mlle. Suzanne Karpeles (pp. 373–382). At present the *Annamites* owing their culture to China form 72 p. c. of their population in Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin China. The *Cambodians* of Indian leanings are 12 p. c. only while the *Laotians* are 6 p. c. of the population. The Khmer art is properly the ancient Cambodian art. The pre-Angkorean period of this art extends upto the *9th Century A. D.* Many of the Buddhist images belong to this period. At the end of the article we find a photo of "*Horsemen Stone panel*" from Annam belonging to the *8th Century A. D.* The left foot of each of these horsemen is clearly shown as resting in a *stirrup of looped rope* hanging from the saddle. We may compare this stirrup to that found on the archway at Mathura, assigned to *100 or 50 B. C.* as also that on the loṭā of *about 200 A. D.* found at Kundlah in Kulu by Major Hay in 1857.

(2) The Stirrup in Turkistan at Dandan Uliq – 8th Century A. D.

Vincent Smith in his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1930) gives a photograph of a wall-painting showing mounted princes or saints, one of whom is riding a horse while the other is riding a camel. The rider of the horse has his left foot in a *stirrup*, which looks like a metallic stirrup. According to Smith the remains of the 8th Century at Dandan Uliq in which the above painting was found, show Indian influence. The painters followed Indian models but were also exposed to Persian and Chinese Schools of influence. The rider of the horse is shown as riding a piebald Yarkandi pony. The blending of Indian and Chinese features is noticeable in the face of the horseman (See *Plate 116 A* facing p. 163). This painting belongs to the *8th Century A. D.* as Dandan Uliq was abandoned soon after *A. D. 791.*

(3) *The Stirrup in Persia (Rayy)– A. D. 1191* – Arthur Lane in his *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, 1947) *Plate 55 (c),* gives a photograph of the Chicago dish dated *A. D. 1191.* This dish of 14 inches diameter is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. On this dish there is a picture of a rider on horseback with his left foot in the *stirrup.* The *stirrup* is clearly marked out in the picture and it looks like a modern metallic *stirrup.* The dish is a specimen of Persian lustre – painted wares current in Persia in " *late 12th – early 13th Century.* "

(4) *The stirrup in Scotland–A. D. 1241–1285.*

I have already noted the remark of Eckhard Unger that *the stirrup appears in Europe as late as the Early Middle Ages.* In this connection I have to note that the seal of Alexander III (*A. D. 1241–1285*), King of Scotland, shows him riding a horse with his right leg in the *stirrup* and his uplifted sword in the right hand. This stirrup showed on the seal may be either of looped rope or leather strap (vide p. 573 of Vol. I of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, where the seal is reproduced).

(5) The foreign origin of the *stirrup* indicated by the evidence recorded in this paper gets further support from the linguistic evidence. My friend Dr. Siddheswar Varma, M. A., D. LITT. has been kind enough to examine this linguistic evidence. He will publish in due course a note on it. In the meanwhile I may record here his tentative conclusion based on the words for the *Stirrup* found in different languages of the three groups. (1) *Indo-Aryan* (Gujarātī, Sindhī, Hindī, Nepālī, Bengālī, Marāthī), (2) *Iranian* (Balochi), (3) *Dravidian* (Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa) and (4) *Muṇḍā* (Goṇḍī). In his letter of 9–5–1948 Dr. Varma observes:– " The above list (of words for the *stirrup*) is far from encouraging and shows how extensive has been the domination of the *Perso–Arabic* form reaching even *Muṇḍa–Dravidian.* " Dr. Varma has promised to tackle the older forms of the above languages with regard to the *stirrup* and I await with eagerness his detailed researches in this inquiry.

The evidence regarding the history of the *stirrup* as recorded in this paper may be represented chronologically as follows :—

Chronology	Reference
	S = stirrup.
B. C. 852	**S** used by the Assyrian King Salmanasser III (a foot-board bound with strings).
B. C. 1st Century A. D. 1st Century	**S** used by Sarmatians.
	S in *Central Asia* and *China* (*Han* and *Tang* periods).

B. C. 100–50	**S** at Mathura (in the railing round Jain Stūpa) — a *looped rope* or *leather strap.*
A. D. 200–300	**S** on a *loṭā* from Kundlah in Kulu. (now in the Indian Museum) (a *looped rope* or a *leather strap*)
A. D. 500 onwards	Use of *iron stirrup* by Mongolian tribes of *Central Asia.*
A. D. 700–800	**S** in a painting at *Dandan Uliq* in *Turkistan* (metallic stirrup ?)
A. D. 700–800	**S** on the stone panel of horsemen at Annam (Khmer or Indo-Chinese art) — *looped rope.*
A. D. 1130	**S** described as पादाधार of gold (foot-rest) by King Someśvara in his *Mānasollāsa* (description of Polo or Horse golf).
A. D. 1191	**S** on a Persian pottery dish (New York Museum) (*metallic stirrup*).
A. D. 1241–1285	**S** in Scotland (on the seal of Alexander III) (looped *leather strap* or *rope*).
A. D. 1676	**S** mentioned as "रिकीब" and explained as "आरोहिणी" by Raghunātha Paṇḍita in his राजव्यवहारकोश composed by the order of Shivaji the Great.

The above table speaks for itself. The data recorded in it can be easily supplemented by Indian and foreign scholars on the strength of sources available to them, both literary and archaeological. I am particularly interested in the Indian sources. I shall, therefore, feel thankful if some more light is thrown on this problem from Indian sources, especially prior to A. D. 1000.

P. S.—Since this paper was sent to the press I received some valuable information about the stirrup from friends in Europe. I have great pleasure in adding it to my paper most gratefully:—

(1) Prof. Dr. Vittore Pisani of the University of Milan (Italy) writes to me on 10–7–1948 as follows:—

(i) The Romans and the Greeks had neither *stirrup* nor *saddle.*

(ii) The first mention of the *stirrup* is in a treatise of the Byzantine emperor *Maurikios* (dead 602 A. D.); in the West in the work *Etymologiae* of the Spanish bishop Fridor of Sevilla (VII century A. D.)

(iii) The Romance peoples got the knowledge of the *stirrup* from the Teutons as seen from its names in Italian.

(iv) Whence the Teutons had the *stirrup* is not quite certain; probably they had it from the Nomads of Asia.

(v) The Byzantine people may have received the *stirrup* from the Persians.

(II) Prof. Dr. Gerhard Lindblom, Director of the Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm (Sweden) writes to me as follows, in his letter of 3-8-1948:—

" The best work on *stirrups* is *R. Zschille und R. Forrer*, Die Steigbügel in ihrer Formenentwicklung, Berlin, 1896. It is a large work in folio with good plates and it gives the whole development of the *stirrup*, at least in Europe. I will also mention *Lefebvre des Noettes*, L'Attelage le Cheval de Selle a travers les ages, Paris, 1931. I think that you will find a short but good Survey in *M. Ebert* in Real-Lexicon der Vorgeschichte article " Steigbügel "—The two first-mentioned books are owned by the library of the Royal Armoury here. Dr. H. Seitz of this institution knows a good deal of *stirrups* himself. He gave me the titles of the two books mentioned above. "

(III) Prof. Dr. V. L. Grottanelli, Superintendent of the Museum of Pre-historic Antiquities in Rome (Italy) writes on 11-5-1948 :—

" I am truly in admiration at your great activity and at the vastness of the field covered by your investigations and researches. I enclose a few lines on the subject of stirrups:-

Encyclopedia Italiana, Vol. XXXII, Rome, 1936, p. 446, under " Staffa " (by Lt. Col. Carlo de Margherita)

"....The ancients must not have known the use of stirrups, because Xenophon does not mention them in his works, whereas Galenus and Hippocrates speak of the ailments which horsemen suffered of in their legs owing to the habit of leaving them hanging and loose. Stirrups are mentioned for the first time in a treatise by emperor Mauritius who died in 602 (A. D.).

At first stirrups consisted of cords made of rich materials (textiles); later on they were made of metal....In the XI century the use of stirrups was already common among men of arms, though not universal: some horsemen in order to climb on their horse still used a peg inserted in their lances ' staff...."

(The work of Xenophon to which the author refers to was written between 364 and 361 B. C. The use of saddles preceded of course, as has

been the case in every part of the world, that of stirrups. The idea of a saddle was probably suggested to the Greeks by the Persian custom of heaping blankets on the horses' backs; a cushion eventually took the place of these blankets, but it is only in comparatively late times that a real saddle was developed. In the Roman cavalry of imperial times, saddles reached a high stage of perfection, but as stated above stirrups do not seem to have appeared before, let us say at the end of the VI century. (Montandon, L'ologenese culturelle, Paris, 1934, p. 205–206, says that the saddle and stirrup appeared both in the IX century, but he is obviously wrong). Oddly enough, I have seen no conclusions drawn, or even hypothesis put forward, as to the origin of stirrups. The Chinese used them in the VII century, and as far as we know not before this time, so that apparently stirrups were known or at least heard of in Byzantium at an earlier time. Persian influence again? As soon as I have time I shall look into the matter. You have chosen here a most appealing subject for research, and no doubt your contribution will be a precious one).

Besides the above information about the history of the *stirrup* in Europe I have found the following account of the discovery of *iron stirrups* in a tomb of *5th century A. D.* in *South Korea* : —

In the Quarterly journal *Artibus Asiae* (Switzerland) Vol. X/3 there is an article on an excavation at *Kyongyu*, a town in South Korea. This article deals with the excavation of two tombs (*c. 5th century A. D.*), one of a noble and the other, probably of his wife. Figures 17–19 give us photographs of the *Horse-furniture* found in one of the two tombs, which is called " *Ho-ou* " Tomb. The items of this furniture as recorded on pp. 182–188 of the journal under reference are as follows : —

(1) One pair of gilt *bronze saddle bridges*
(2) Nine small *bronze horse-bells*
(3) One *strap pendant*
(4) One pair of *iron stirrups*
(5) Several *iron bits*
(6) Three gilt *bronze horse masks*
(7) Many *bronze strap ornaments.*

These items of horse-furniture of the 5th cent. A.D. show the highly developed condition of horse-furniture about 1500 years ago in the Far East. We must trace the history of Indian horse-furniture with a view to seeing what items of Indian horse-furniture have been borrowed from foreign countries in contact with India in ancient and mediaeval times of Indian history.

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6. The History of The Sling (Gophana) in India And Other Countries*

Between C. B. C. 3000 And A. D. 1900

In the article on *Sling* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 20 (1929), p. 797 we get a history of the Sling but it makes no mention of the history of the Sling in India. I propose in this paper to record some references to the Sling in Indian literary and other sources but before doing so it is advisable to record briefly the history of this implement as given by other scholars. The following points in the above article in the *Ency. Britannica* are noteworthy :-

1. The *Sling* is probably the earliest device by which force and range were given to the arm of a thrower of missiles.
2. *Sling* stones from the stone age are frequent.
3. Two kinds of Sling were used :—
   - (i) Sling with a leather socket or strap with two cords attached to it.
   - (ii) The staff Sling in which the Sling is attached to a staff held in both hands and used for heavier missiles thrown in siege operations during the middle ages.
4. There are many references to *Sling* and *Slingers* in the Bible; the left-handed Slingers of Benjamin were famous (Judges xx. 16).
5. The Assyrian monuments show the *Sling* of the ordinary type.
6. *Slingers* were used in the ancient Egyptian army but not before the 8th century B. C.
7. The Sling is not mentioned in Homer.
8. Herodotus (vii. 158) speaks of the *Slingers* in the army offered by Gelon to serve against the Persians. It seems to have been a weapon used by barbarian troops.
9. The Acarnanians were expert *Slingers* (Thu. c. ii, 81).
10. The Achaeans were also expert *Slingers*. They invented the *Sling* which discharged a shaft with an iron bolt head (*Livy* xlii, 65, from *bolibius*).
11. In the Roman army by the time of the Punic wars the *Slingers* (Funditores) were auxiliaries from Greece, Syria and Africa.

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* *Journal of S. M. Library Tanjore*, Vol. X (No 1), pp. 13-21.,

12. The Balearic islanders in the Hannibal's army were always famous as *Slingers*.
13. In the mediaeval times the *Sling* was much used in the Frankish army, in defending trenches.
14. The *Staff-Sling* was used against *fortifications* in the 14th century for throwing grenades.

The above remarks try to depict the history of the Sling from the stone age onwards and consequently give a good back ground to my present study.

While I was studying this problem my ever-obliging friend Dr. Gerhard Lindblom presented to me the following papers on the Sling published by him as Director of the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm :-

1. Die Schlender in Afrika and Anderwarts, Stockholm, 1927, by K. G. Lindblom. In this monograph on the Sling the author indicates its distribution and use in Africa (with map of distribution), together with a brief survey of its occurrence in other parts of the world.

2. The Sling, especially in Africa (Additional Notes to a previous paper) by K. G. Lindblom, Stockholm, 1940. This paper contains very valuable information abut the Sling and especially its history in the near Orient and southern Europe. The following points in this paper are noteworthy : -

i. In Africa the Sling is used in four different ways:- 1. as a weapon of war, 2. as a hunting implement, 3. for scaring away marauders, particularly birds from the ripening fields, and 4. as a toy for children.

ii. The Persian King Darius used the Sling as a weapon of war against Alexander. Cyrus reserved the Sling for prisoners and slaves. The Persian Slingers used nothing but stones for missiles. In modern Persia and Mesopotamia Slings are used as weapons of war by Arabs and Bedonins.

iii. The use of the sling as a weapon by Hittites is authenticated by pictures.

iv. The Assyrians and Babylonians used the Sling as a weapon. The Assyrian reliefs show the pictures of Sling.

v. Among the ancient Hebrews the Sling was used as weapon for herdsmen, for war and hunting. There were expert Slingers among the tribe of Benjamin (Judges XX. 16).

vi. According to Pliny the Sling was a Phoenician invention (*Hist. Nat. VII, 57*). The Phoenicians are described as expert users of the Sling as a weapon.

vii. Bedouin boys in Arabia use the Sling with great precision.

viii. According to Varthema the Bedouins of Yemen anciently used the Sling as a weapon.

ix. Fig. 1 (on p. 8) is a photo of a Silver vase found at Mycenae depicting the siege of a town, whose defenders include Slingers.

x. In Greece and Crete the Sling is a weapon of remote antiquity (Fig 1). The Sling was known even in Mycenean times as proved by the silver vase referred to above.

xi. As early as the 5th century B. C., Sling projectiles of metal (bronze and lead) were used in Greece on the battle-field of Marathon. A number of these projectiles have been recovered. The Greek Sling-bullets are of slight volume with excellent ballistic properties surpassing even the bow in this respect.

xii. In ancient Greece the Sling was largely used by the mountain peoples that supplied the best Slingers.

xiii. According to Thucydides the Acharnians, the Aetolians, the Thessalians, and Achaeans were reputed for outstanding skill in the use of the Sling.

xiv. Philip V of Macedonia had 300 Achaean Slingers in his service.

xv. The Greek cities had mercenary Slingers who by their "fire" prepared for the attack of heavy infantry (the hoplites.). Their action was just like the modern artillery fire before infantry attack.

xvi. Fig. 2 on p. 9 is the picture from a fresco in a grave at Corneto in Italy showing the use of the Sling for bird-hunt. It also shows a man on the shore killing a water fowl with a Sling. This and other frescos show that the Etruscans used the Sling as a weapon for fighting and for hunting.

xvii. According to Daremburg et Saglio, the Romans employed Slingers (*funditores*) in the republican era. Hannibal employed Slingers from the Balearic islands. To fight against these Slingers the Romans themselves imported Slingers from Sicily and from these islands as mercenaries. These mercenaries fought against the Gauls. Pompey and Caesar employed Slingers in their African campaigns.

xviii. Diodorus, Strabo, and Vegetius (in his book on the art of war) describe these expert Slingers from the Balearic islands. According to Diodorus these Slingers threw stones, which smashed helmets, armour and shields.

xix. Kings of Numidia (modern Algeria) had Slingers in their armies. The Roman army in Spain employed Slingers at the seige of Numantia.

xx. The Carthegenians used the Sling in defending their fortifications.

xxi. Opinions differ as to whether the Slingers depicted in Beni Hasan were Lybians.

xxii. The Sling was known to the ancient Egyptians. Fig. 3 on p. 13 is the photo of the remains of two plaited linen-thread Slings found in the tomb of Tut-Amkh-Amen (14th cent. B. C.) in the toy-chest of this King.

xxiii. Possibly the Sling came to Africa from the ancient cultures of the Near East and from the early Mediterranean culture in general.

xxiv. It is very probable that the Sling spread from Southern Europe over the continent. The Goths did not possess the Sling when in A. D. 533 they invaded Italy. The use of the Sling for protecting growing crops from birds is vouched by a woodcut of A. D. 1502 (edition of *Virgil*, Georgia, Nuremburg).

xxv. In Asia the Sling is used by 1. the mountain-people of Southern Pamir, 2. the Bhils, 3. the Gonds, 4. the Juāngs of Orissa, 5. the Tibetans, 6. the peoples culturally related to the Tibetans.

xxvi. Sir Aurel Stein discovered a Sling in the ancient Tibetan fort of Miran. It is of goat's hair-cord and felt pouch and belongs to about the *9th cent. A. D.*

xxvii. J. S. Thomson gives an interesting account of the use of the Sling in China in the province of Kwanlung. Stone-throwing contests were held in this province as also in Korea.

xxviii. In northern Asia the use of the Sling has been noticed and recorded by many writers.

xxix. The use of the Sling in Indonesia (Sumatra, Java etc.) has been noticed and recorded by some scholars.

xxx. The occurrence of the Sling in the Philippines has also been referred to by some writers.

xxxi. The Sling exists (or formerly existed) in many parts of America.

xxxii. Possibly the original home of the Sling may have lain among the early cultures of the *Near East* and thence it spread over the world.

In the foregoing information about the Sling we find no references to the history of the Sling in India. I record below such references with a view to supplementing the exhaustive study of the Sling made by foreign writers on the subject:—

1. At present the Marathi word for the *Sling* is गोफण (*gophaṇa*). Let us see if this word is traceable in Sanskrit sources. In verse 5 of chap. 72 of the Bhīṣma *parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* we find the word "*Bhiṇḍipālegu* भिण्डिपालेषु." Devabodha, the earliest commentator of the Mahābhārata explains this word to mean "गोफणेषु" (see p. 25 of Devabodha's ज्ञानदीपिका commentary ed. by S. K. Belvalkar, B. O. R. Institute, 1947). One Ms of this commentary gives the variant 'गोफलेषु' for 'गोफणेषु.' We are, therefore, unable to say if Devabodha knew the word गोफण.

2. In the *Ādiparvan* of the MBH (B. O. R. Institute) Edition, chap. 218, verse 24 reads as follows:—

" अयःकणपचक्राश्मभुशुण्ड्युद्यतबाहवः ।
कृष्णपार्थौ जिघांसन्तः क्रोधसंमूर्छितौजसः ॥ २४ ॥ "

The word चक्राश्मन् occurring in the first line of the above verse is recorded by Monier Williams in his *English Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 381. He translates it as "a *Sling* for throwing Stones." Dr. Sukthankar puts a wavy line under the words "चक्राश्मभुशुण्ड्यु". We are, therefore unable to rely upon the word "चक्राश्म" as authentic in the text of the MBH.

Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara (c. A. D. 1650–1700) comments on the above passage (see p. 357 of the Chitrashala Edition, Poona, 1929–*Ādiparvan*) as follows :–

" तथा चक्राश्मसंज्ञं यस्य भ्रमिबलेन महान्तोऽपि पाषाणा अतिदूरे क्षिप्यन्ते तत्काष्ठमयं यन्त्रं भुशुण्डी चर्मरज्जुमयं यन्त्रं पाषाणक्षेपणमेव "

According to Nīlakaṇṭha चक्राश्म was a wooden machine for hurling big stones while भुशुण्डी was made of leather and ropes and used also for throwing stones. Does he mean that भुशुण्डी was a Sling made of leather and ropes?[1]

3. In the *Suśruta-Saṃhitā* (*Sūtra-Sthāna*, Chap. 18, passage 18–N. S. Press edition, 1931, page 83) we find 14 kinds of bandages for wounds, among which a bandage called "गोफणा" is mentioned as follows :–

1. I am thankful to Dr. M. M. Patkar of the Deccan College Research Institute for supplying these references to me.

" चिबुकनासौष्ठांसबस्तिषु गोफणां." This bandage was called " गोफणा " as it was of the shape of गोफणा or *Sling* and could be tied up properly on the chin, lips and such other protruding parts of the body on which a flat bandage could not be properly tied up. The commentator Dallaṇa (c. A. D. 1100) quotes the following verse from an earlier work to explain the term " गोफणा " in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* :–

" पाषाणगुडकोत्क्षेपकारिणीं गोफणां विदुः ।
तदाकृतिं भिषक्कुर्याद्गोफणां बन्धकर्मणि: ॥ "

गोफणा is capable of throwing stones and a bandage of the shape of गोफणा or Sling should be prepared by the physician etc.

The editor of the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamji Acharya quotes the following verse of चरक about गोफणा bandage in footnote 1 on p. 83 :–

" गोफणां गोफणाकारां युञ्ज्यान्नासौष्ठबस्तिषु ।
चिबुके चापि बन्धाङ्गी हनुसन्धौ विलंगते ॥ " etc.

It is clear from the above references that the word 'गोफणा' meaning a *Sling* was current in the time of the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and that it meant a *Sling* for throwing stones. Apte in his *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (1890, p. 468) records the word गोफणा with the following meanings :– (1) a bandage hollowed out so as to fit the chin or nose, (2) a Sling, but does not record any usages of this word.

4. In the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (8th or 9th century A. D.) of Vāgbhaṭa (edited by Harishastri Paradkar, N. S. Press Bombay, 1939) we get references to "गोष्फणाबन्ध" as follows : —

Page 871 —

" कार्यश्च गोष्फणाबन्धः कटयामावेश्य पट्टकम् । " (verse 25)
" चर्मणा गोष्फणाबन्धः कार्यश्चासंगते व्रणे ॥ " (verse 23)

The " गोष्फणाबन्ध " mentioned in these verses is identical with the " गोफणाबन्ध " of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

5. In the *Cikitsāsthāna* of the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* we get the following reference to the गोफणिकाबन्ध which is identical with the गोफणाबन्ध referred to in the *Sūtrasthāna*, chap. 18, passage 18 :—

Page 857— chap. 2 verse 67 व्रणचिकित्सित or treatment of wounds.

" प्रवेश्य वृषसेवन्या मुष्कौ सीव्येत्ततः परम् ।
कार्यो गोफणिकाबन्धः कटयामावेश्य यन्त्रकम् ॥ ६७ ॥ "

The commentator Dallaṇa observes: — 'गोफणिका कौपीनं कच्छोटक इत्यर्थः'.

Here Dallaṇa equates गोफणिका with कौपीन[2] i. e., a piece of cloth worn over the privities, which is practically the same as कच्छोटक i. e., the end of the lower garment tucked into the waist band or girdle (over the privities) (Marathi कासोटा). Evidently the कौपीन is of the shape of a Sling.

6. In the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* (Shri Jain Ātmānadasabhā, Bhavanagar, p. 1313) we get the word "गोप्फण" in the following extract :—

" कुवनयसाई भेदो, घंसण मणिमादिघाणकट्ठादी ।
पट्टवरादी पीसण गोप्फण- धणुमादि अभिघातो ॥ ४९०५ ॥ "

टीका ... " 'गोफणा' चर्मदवरकमयी प्रसिद्धा तथा, धनु:प्रभृतिभिर्वा यत् प्रक्षिपति एषोऽभिघात उच्यते ॥ ४९०५ ॥ "

According to my friend Muni Punyavijayaji,[3] who has kindly supplied to me the above reference the above Sūtrā belongs to the 6th century of the Vikrama era.

7. Chapter XVIII of Book II of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (Vol. I, edited by J. Jolly, Lahore, 1923 pp. 60–61) deals with the duties of the *Superintendent of Armoury* (आयुधागाराध्यक्ष). The following line (p. 61) records some of the weapons :—

" यन्त्रगोष्पणमुष्टिपाषाणरोचनीदृषदश्चायुधानि । "

The translation of this extract given by Dr. Shama Shastri is as follows :— " *Yantrapāṣāṇa, Goṣpaṇapāṣāṇa, muṣṭipāṣāṇa, rocanī* (millstone) and stones are other " (see p. 112 of Eng. Trans. of *Arthaśāstra*, Mysore, 1929).

In the footnotes we get the explanation of the first three terms in the above extract as follows :—

1. यन्त्रपाषाण = Stones that can be thrown by a machine.
2. गोष्पणपाषाण = Stones thrown by a rod called गोष्पण.
3. मुष्टिपाषाण = Stones hurled by hand.

All these explanations are based on the commentary.

Can we identify गोष्पण with गोफण ? If गोष्पण was a rod for throwing stones against the enemy we can suggest that it may have been a kind of "*Staff-Sling*" described in the *Encylopaedia Britannica*. In the Staff-Sling the Sling is attached to a staff held in both hands and used for heavier missiles thrown in siege operations during the middle ages.

2. The Pahlvi word for Sling is *Kopin*. In Pahlvi *Vendidad* (Eng. Trans. by B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1949, p. 302) the impliments of a warrior are mentioned viz. Spear, Knife, mace, bow, saddle with quiver, and *Sling* (*Kopin*). Can we connect Sans. कौपीन with Pahlvi *Kopin* ?

3. I am grateful to Muni Punyavijayaji for this reference.

I await more light on this point from linguists and Sanskrit scholars in general who may have studied the text of the *Arthaśāstra* more closely than myself. The word 'गोष्पण' occurs only once in the text of the *Arthaśāstra*. The words गोफण, गोफणा, गोफणिका, गोष्फणा, गोष्फण, are not mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.

8. In the Marathi work "*Jñāneśvarī*" composed in A. D. 1290 we get a reference to *gophaṇa* (Sling) in the following extract :—

"लीळाकमळें खेळणें । पुष्पमाळा झेलणें ।
न करी म्हणे गोफणें । ऐसें होईल ॥ ८४ ॥"

(Chap. 13, ovī 84 of *Jñāneśvarī* ed. by S. V. Dandekar, Poona, 1953, p. 432).

A person practising अहिंसा (non-violence) does not whirl by his hand a lotus flower or garland of flowers with the apprehension that it may injure some one in the manner of a *gophaṇa* (Sling).[1]

9. References to expert slingers used in their armies by Indian kings have not come to my notice. Emperor Akbar, however, employed such slingers as stated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (c. A. D. 1590) (Eng. Trans. by Francis Gladwin, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1897)—

Vol. I, Page 178—

"The Pehlwan are wrestlers and boxers of Irān and Turān. There are also expert *Slingers of Gujarat* and *other parts of Hindustan*, who are called Mull, numbers of whom are in His Majesty's service. Their monthly pay is from 70 to 450 Dams and every day some of the above combat together and receive various rewards."

10. There is a work called सभाशृङ्गार (*Sabhā-Śṛṅgāra*) represented by a rare MS in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute (No 671 of 1899-1915 Folios 22) dated *Saṃvat 1781 = A. D. 1725*. This work contains list of words useful for a courtier. On folios 12–13 we find a list of the following towns :—

आगरो (Agra), उजेण (Ujjain), उदेपुर, आंबेर, आजमेर, अहमदाबाद अवरंगाबाद, दिल्हि, दोलताबाद, दरीयाबाद, दीव, दसोर, गोधा, गोलकुंड, (Golkonda) लाहोर, लखमीपुर, बहानपुर, विजापुर, बुंदि, राजमहल, राजनगर, भागनगर, (Hyderabad) खमाति (Khambayat), सूरति (Surat), पाटण, पटणु, जेसलमेर, विकानेर, सांगानेर, जोधपुर, जालोर, नागोर, मलकापुर, मुरादाबाद, साम्बादाबाद, फत्तीयाबाद, फत्तेपुर.

As Ahmedabad was founded in A. D. 1413 (see p. 235 of *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. I, Part I – History of Gujarat, 1896), we may put A. D. 1413 as the

1. I am thankful to my friend Prof. V. G. Maydeo for drawing my attention to this only reference to gophaṇa in the *Jñāneśvarī*.

earlier terminus to the date of *Sabhā-śṛṅgāra*, which mentions *Ahmadābad* in the list of towns. If the town अवरंगाबाद mentioned in this work is identical with any town of this name founded by or named after Emperor Aurangzeb, who came to the throne about A. D. 1659, we can fix the date of the *Sabhā-śṛṅgāra between c. A. D. 1659 and 1725.*

The *Sabhā-śṛṅgāra*, the chronology of which has been indicated above, mentions 'गोफण' (Sling) twice as under :—

Folio 5 b – Names of weapons (आयुध). Here गोफण is mentioned as an आयुध or weapon along with हथनाळ, हवाई, नाळ, गोळो, etc.

Folio 8 b –Description of battle (युद्धवर्णन). Here also गोफण is mentioned.

11. The lexicon *Kalpadrukośa* (A. D. 1660), Vol. I. Baroda, contains a reference to गोफण in the following line:—

Page 124 —

" भुशुण्डीशङ्कुमुसलस्तरु गोफण पत्रणः ॥ ३१२ ॥ "

It is worthwhile searching for the word गोफण in the numerous Sanskrit lexicons published or unpublished.

12. In the Marathi *Śabdakośa* by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Poona, 1934, Vol. III, p. 1029 we find the following references to *gophaṇa* (Sling):-

(i) *Kathākalpataru* by Kṛṣṇayājñavalkya (*c. A. D. 1548–1618* –see p. 256 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937)

" हातीं घेवोनि गोफणा " कथा ६, १२, ५३,

(ii) *Harivijaya* by Śrīdhara composed in *Śaka 1624 = A. D. 1702* (see p. 561 of *Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata* by V. L. Bhave, Poona, 1951 and p. 196 of *Śrīdhara Caritra* by C. N. Joshi, Poona, 1951).

" एकें चिंतामणि गोफणिला । तो घेऊन अंगणांत पडिला "

We have already noticed the earliest reference to *gophaṇa* in the *Jñāneśvarī* (A. D. 1290). It is possible to find many more references to *gophaṇa* in Marathi literature between c. A. D. 1100 and 1900.

Regarding the use of the *Sling* in China I consulted my friend Prof. Dr. L. Carrington Goodrich of the Columbia University, U. S. A., now in India. He wrote to me from Ceylon on 19th May 1954 as follows :– " C. N. Bishop, *The Neolithic Age in Northern China, Antiquity*, December 1953, p. 397 writes.—

> " Stone and clay balls are numerous. Possibly the smaller ones were missiles for the pellet bow, known in very early China. The larger specimens may have been *Sling Stones*. The Chinese Sling used as

a weapon of war in recent centuries and still surviving as a child's toy, consists essentially of a cord or thong attached to a short handle."

H. G. Creel *The Birth of China*, does not mention Slings.

The end result is that we know very little about Slings in early times in China."[1]

I hope the history of the Sling as recorded by me in this paper would create some interest in the minds of the serious students of Indian cultural history regarding this earliest device of man. In particular I have to request them to record all references to the Sling in India prior to c. A. D. 500.

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1. About the history of the Sling in China I consulted another friend Dr. T. K. Cheng of the University of Cambridge (England). He also finds it difficult to locate references to the Sling in Chinese sources but has promised to keep my query in mind.

7. Hari Kavi's Contribution to the Problem of the Bhavānī Sword of Shivaji the Great *

In 1924 Mr. S. M. Edwards contributed a note on *Shivaji's Sword "Bhavānī"* to the *Indian Antiquary* [1] which he concluded with the following appeal to scholars :—

" The question still remains ' where is now the original Sword Bhavāni ? ' In view of what is written above and of the fact that the Sword now worshipped at Satara is the Sword of Shahu, can any reader suggest a solution of the problem ? Could the Sword have been taken to Benares when the Raja retired thither after his deposition ? Has it been hidden to reappear at some future date as the symbol of a united Maratha people ? Perhaps some one of the leading students of Maratha history may be able to answer the question. "

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* *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 81–100.

1. Vol. LIII, 1924, pp. 18–20–References to the Bhavānī Sword recorded by Mr. Edwards are as follows:—

(1) *Śivadigvijaya Bakhar* (reference translated by Dr. Surendranath Sen on p. 181 of his translation of Sabhāsad Bakhar.

(2) Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* Vol. I. Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, p. 280–Grant Duff states that the Bhavānī Sword " is still preserved by the Raja of Satara. " On p. *244* (Vol. 1) he mentions that Sambhaji carried the sword during the Maratha attack on Goa in 1683 and that he did great execution with it. On p. *323* (Vol. 1) he states that two swords viz. (1) the *Bhavānī Sword* and (2) the *sword of Afzalkhan* of Bijapur had been taken by the Mughals at Raigarh. These were given as presents to Shahu by Aurangzeb when Shahu's nuptials were celebrated by the Emperor. Both these swords as well as the third sword personally presented to Shahu by Aurangzeb were in the possession of the Raja of Satara at the time Grant Duff published his history in 1826.

(3) Mr. D. B. Parasnis informed Mr. Edwards that the sword preserved at Satara is 3'-9" in length in the blade and 8" long in the handle and bears a *Marathi inscription " Srimant Sarkār Rajmandal Raja Shahu Kadim Aval"*, which shows that it is the weapon of Shahu. Parasnis further informed Mr. Edwards that there is a belief at Satara that the original Bhavānī Sword was taken by Tarabai, wife of Rajaram to Kolhapur and that in 1875 this sword was presented by the Diwan of Kolhapur to H. M. the late King Edward. It was exhibited in 1878 at the Paris exhibition (vide p. 68 of Handbook of the British Indian Section of this exhibition by Sir George Birdwood). Mr. Edwards made inquiries in England about the above sword the result of which rendered it certain that the Bhavānī was never taken to England.

(4) Pratap Singh, the Raja of Satara, presented General Lionel Smith with a sword in A. D. 1820 with the approval of the then Governor of Bombay. Mr. Edwards rejects Parasnis' suggestion that this sword may have been the Bhavānī sword.

In view of this appeal made 14 years ago by the then editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and finding that no effort had been made by scholars to examine the whole problem of the genesis and historicity of the Bhavānī sword I was tempted to make some notes about this problem and make my own contribution to it, howsoever slight, though I don't claim to be a 'leading' student of Maratha History. In these notes I have tried to gather what has been said about the Bhavānī sword by some of the previous writers on the subject with a view to indicating the stage at which the problem stands at present. Thinking that these notes may be of use to other workers in this field I am publishing them after waiting for full two years (since this paper was first drafted) with a view to get the benefit of exchange of views with senior workers in the field.

In the *Shivaji Souvenir*[2] published on the occasion of the Ter-centenary of the Maratha King, Shivaji the Great, we find photographs of four panels of Shivaji Memorial prepared by the celebrated sculptor, V. P. Karmarkar (facing p. 98 of English Section of the *Souvenir*). One of these panels contains the picture of Goddess Bhavānī with eight arms presenting a sword to Shivaji Maharaj, who is shewn at her feet with face towards the goddess and receiving the sword with both his hands. Mr. H. George Franks interprets this panel by putting the following words on record as coming from the mouth of the Great Shivaji :—

" I received that famous sword very early in my career as a token of a compact with the Chief Gowalkar Sawant. It has been suggested to me on my way to the place where it was being kept that I should take it by force, but remembering what tremendous storms are sometimes raised by unnecessary trifles, I thought it better to leave it to its owner, especially as its possession was not a matter of life and death to me. In the end the wise

2. Edited by G. S. Sardesai contains an *English section* which includes (1) the Jedhe chronology (2) the Jedhe karena (3) Are the Bhonsales Kshatriyas ? (4) Shivaji and the Portuguese (5) Original documents:—Shahaji's letter to Ali Adil Shah, A Persian Firman, Shivaji's letter to his father, Shivaji to Maloji Ghorpade, Shivaji to his officers, etc. (6) Shivaji's letter to Jayasinha, etc., and a *Marathi-Hindi Section* including (1) Kavi Bhushan (2) Shivabāvani (3) Maratha Forts (description) (4) Maratha Forts (alphabetical list) (5) The birth-date of Shivaji (6) Historical documents and letters :-Shivaji's letter to Baji Prabhu, Jijabai's letter, Treaty between Shivaji and Portuguese, etc., (7) Commercial policy of Shivaji, (8) Some old arms and their history (9) Meeting of Shivaji and Chhatrasal (10) Life sketches of Shivaji's contemporaries, etc.—This volume was published on 3rd May, 1927. It contains the following illustrations:—(1) Shivaji on horse-back (2) Aurangzeb in old age (3) Ambarkhana at Panhalgad (4) Shri Ramdas (5) Kalyan gate of Sinhagad (6) Swords and arms (7) Chhatrasal (8) Four panels of Shivaji Memorial (9) Shahaji and Shah Jahan (10) Bust of Shivaji (11) Some Marathi letters reproduced.

chief brought the sword to me as a sign of amity even when he knew that its purchase-price was not to be measured in blood. From that day onward the sword, which I reverently named after my tutelary deity *Bhavānī* [3] always accompanied me, its resting place when not in use generally being the altar of the goddess, to be received back from her as a visible favour from heaven always on the *Dasara* day when setting forth on my campaigns. I am told that the sword is now at Satara, but I am afraid that I cannot verify it until I can see it to identify it. The fine Genoa blade 3 feet and 9 inches in length, might, in fact, be my other favourite sword which I called *Tulja* presented to me by my father."

I am not aware of the authorities on which the above journalistic description is based but it may be taken to be an upto date summary of the history and tradition associated with the swords of Shivaji the Great. I am concerned it this paper with the sword known as the *Bhavānī sword* and hence shall try to put on record references to this sword from contemporary and subsequent records which may reveal the high value attached to it on account of the successive and successful feats of bravery and personal adventure which mark the entire career of this great hero.

In the Maratha Chronicle composed by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis [4] in A.D. 1811 we find the following passage referring to the Bhavānī sword:—

3. Mr. Y. R. GUPTE has reproduced an original letter of Shivaji addressed by him to his step-brother Vyankoji which begins with "श्रीमहादेव श्रीतुलजा भवानी." It appears from line 49 of this letter that Shivaji was conscious of the favour of his deity in all his operations against the Muslims. This line reads as follows :—"दुसरा विचार करावा होता की, श्रीदेवाची व श्रीची कृपा त्यावरी पूर्ण जाली आहे. दुस्ट तुरकाला ते मारितात etc" (Vide इतिहाससंग्रह (October, 1915) Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3 (ऐ. स्फु. ले. २).

Cf. Jayarāma Kavi (A. D. 1658-88) *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa Campū* (VI Ullāsa) p. 237—"तुलजाभवानी श्रीमत्पांडुरंगं च......तुला"

4. *Life of Shivaji the Great* in seven chapters by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, edited with copious notes, critical and explanatory, by K. N. SANE, 1924 (A. B. Press, Poona). Some other chronicles pertaining to the Maratha History are :—

(1) शिवछत्रपतीचें चरित्र —— ——— by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad written in 1694 at Jinji, by order of Rajaram; ed. by K. N. SANE, 3rd ed. 1912. Trans. into English by J. L. MANKAR as *Life and Exploits of Shivaji* (Bombay, 1st Ed. 1884, 2nd. Ed. 1886)

(2) चित्रगुप्तबखर composed about 1760.

(3) शिवदिग्विजय Ed. by. P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR. (Baroda, 1895).

(4) *The Raigarh Life* (Original Marathi text lost). English trans. pub. in G. W. FORREST'S *Selections*, etc., from the letters in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Vol. I, (pp. 1-22), 1885.

Page 184 — " महाराजांनी सफाई करून 'तुम तो बडे और पठाण, चाख हमारी भवानी शिवाजीकी देखो ' म्हणून तरवारीचा वार खांद्यावर केला. "

In the above extract which describes the Afzalkhan incident in Shivaji's life we are told that Shivaji retaliated to Afzalkhan's attack by giving a stroke of his sword with the words : " you are a big person besides being a Pathan ; just have a taste of this Bhavānī (sword) of Shivaji". The account of this Afzalkhan incident states that Shivaji carried with him the *tiger's claws (vāgh nakha)* and a *bichvā* (a small dagger). If these details are true to history it may not be true that Shivaji had with him on this occasion the Bhavānī sword referred to in the Chitnis Bakhar. It may also be difficult to presume the identity of the *bichvā* with the *Bhavānī* sword. Leaving it to specialists to settle these questions we may feel satisfied by only noting the reference to the name *Bhavānī* (sword) in the Chitnis Chronicle of A. D. 1811.

Another chronicle which gives exhaustive information, about the *Bhavānī* sword is the " *Śrī Śivadigvijaya* "[5] published at Baroda in 1895. Dr. Surendranath SEN in his *Śiva Chhatrapati* translates the account of the *Bhavānī* sword appearing on pp. 354 ff. of the above edition of the *Śivadigvijaya* as follows :—

The *Bhavānī sword* " S. D. [154] the Sāvants had an excellent *dhop tarwar* (a long and straight sword) worth two hundred *Hons*. Shivaji wished that such a famous sword should be with him. But it is not proper to wish for a good thing that belongs to one's *Sardars* [155] or a neighbour of rank.

* *The Mahārājā wished to have the sword but it would bring him disrepute as the precedent showed,— and so the Mahārājā observed that the matter should not be even spoken of ;— as in another age such a cause had resulted in the slaughter of many. * * * But the sword that had divine properties addressed the Mahārājā in a dream — " If thou goest to fight with me in thy hand even at the head of a small

5. Vide *Śiva Chhatrapati*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1920 by Dr. Surendranath SEN. *Śivadigvijaya* is the most voluminous of the three bakhars viz. (1) the *Sabhāsad* bakhar (2) the *Chitnis* bakhar and (3) the *Śivadigvijaya*. Its authorship is shrouded in mystery. Its author was a Prabhu Kāyastha according to Dr. SEN, but not Khaṇḍo Ballāḷ as the editors suppose. RAJAWADE thinks that the author was some scion of the Baroda branch of the Chitnis family. Its language is at times very modern. RAJAWADE thinks that the bakhar is a revised edition of an old *bakhar*. Sir Jadunath SARKAR, thinks that it is the revised edition of a now lost *bakhar* of which *Tārīkh-i-Shivāji* is the Persian rendering. Its date is uncertain. RAJAWADE supports the date 1818 suggested by Mr. Shankar Balakrishna. (pp. 258-259).

An English translation of *Tārīkh-i-Shivaji* is published by Sir Jadunath SARKAR in *Modern Review*—March 1907.

force against a mighty army the enemies will be routed and victory shall attend thee. Do not give the sword back, keep it always near thee and duly worship it." That very night the Sāvant heard the following behest in a dream—"Give the sword to the Mahārājā and secure his friendship thereby. Otherwise thou shalt lose thy kingdom. I shall no longer stay with thee and I am going away." The Sāvant assembled his officers and related all about the dream. With the counsel of all, it was decided to secure the friendship ef the Mahārājā by presenting the sword. Accordingly the Sāvant came to see the Rājā and presented the sword to him. It was named Tuljā Bhavānī".[6]

In the picture of Shivaji reproduced by James Douglas[7] we find Shivaji seated on horse-back in full attire holding the reigns of the horse in the left hand and a straight sword blade extending from its handle firmly grasped in the right hand. This sword blade appears to be the earliest pictorial representation of Shivaji's sword. Can it by any stretch of historical imagination be identified with the famous Bhavānī sword the subject of so much description in the *Śivadigvijaya* quoted (in translation) above ?

In the *Shivaji Souvenir* volume (1927) we find a very exhaustive article on *Historical Weapons* by Prof. Manikrao of Baroda (pp. 138-153) in which he states that the Bhavānī sword of Shivaji was sent to King Edward by the Maharaja of Kolhapur and that it is preserved at the Buckingham Palace in a golden cupboard. He also expects its return to the Indian soil and exhorts the historical research scholars to collect all possible information about this sword (p. 150). He then gives us a description of this sword in detail such as – two deep lines or grooves on both the sides; golden decoration on the steel parts of the handle ; its handle made of steel

6. Sen : *Śiva Chhatrapati* (Vol. I of Extracts and Documents relating to Marāthā History) pp. 151-152.

7. *Bombay and Western India* by James Douglas, London, 1893, Vol. II, p. 174 —Mr. Douglas remarks : " No portrait of him has come down to us in an English work except the one in Orme's history, evidently from an oval on glass by some Delhi painter [Given *ante* Vol. I, p. 331. The accompanying cut is from De Jan Cigny and X. Raymond's Inde (Firmin Didot fr. 1345). –B] and most probably picked up by Orme or his father (landed an adventurer in Western India, 1706) in their wanderings along the coast of Western India in the early part of the 18th Century. Their proximity to Shivaji's own time, is a partial guarantee of its faithfulness ". Douglas gives a bust of Shivaji on p. 331 of Vol. II from Orme.

In the *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (A.D. 1656–1668) by Bernier reprinted in 1891 (London, Constable & Co.) a bust of Shivaji is reproduced on p. 187 from Valentyn's *Beschryving* in which is published an engraving of this bust from an Indian drawing. Mr. V. S. Bendre has published in 1933 this bust of Shivaji with the following endorsement :— " *Copied from the painting secured by Von Valentyn just after the Surat Sack of 1664* A.D. " For other pictures of Shivaji see *Pictorial Shivaji* published by Y. N. Kelkar, Poona, 193?.

and provided with cover; its blade broadened at the joint of the blade and the handle; the end of the handle studded with rubbies and diamonds. This sword, Prof. Manikrao states, was preserved at Kolhapur and was an object of worship but the descendants of Shivaji parted with it out of a sense of loyalty to King Edward (p. 151).

I am unable to verify the statements made by Prof. Manikrao regarding the Bhavāni sword in the above article. If the sword is preserved in the Buckingham Palace its identification may not be a difficult matter. But as matters stand the Bhavāni sword has become the object of much historical speculation and patriotic wonder and the people of Maharashtra will be prepared to pay any price for it provided its existence is traced and its identity proved on historical evidence.

There was once a belief current in Maharashtra that the sword was preserved in the British Museum. The late Mr. V. L. Bhave has tried to dispel this belief by publishing a letter from the authorities of the British Museum stating that no such sword as the Bhavāni sword has been preserved in that Museum. This belief runs counter to the statement of Prof. Manikrao that the Bhavāni sword is preserved at the Buckingham Palace.

Mr. Parasnis [8] in his article on the Afzalkhan incident quotes the following passage from Justice M. G. Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power* (pp. 97-99) : —

" The Mahomedan historians, whom Grant Duff follows, charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal *vāgh-nakh* (tiger claws) and the *Bhavāni* sword, etc. "

8. *Itihāsa Samgraha* (Dec. 1914–Jan. 1915) Vol. VI, Nos. 4 to 6 ऐ. स्फु. लेख —No. 19 (p. 62)—In the description of the combat as given by Parasnis on the authority of a *bakhar* discovered by him at Satara the only offensive weapons on Shivaji's person when he set out for the combat are (1) *vāgh nakh* and (2) *Bichvā* (p. 69). In this article Parasnis has published a photograph of Afzalkhan's tomb at Pratapgad (facing p. 73). There is also an article in this issue of the *Itihāsa Samgraha* on the family diety of Shivaji containing a photograph of the image of the goddess (facing p. 74) and another photograph of the temple of the goddess (facing p. 76).

James Douglas gives a picture of *vāgh nakh* in Vol. II of his *Bombay and Western India* (p. 181). His chapters on Shivaji's Forts in this volume (pp. 157-197) will be found interesting. They contain some good illustrations such as (1) Ganga Sāgar Tank at Rayagarh (p. 157) ; (2) Rajgarh (p. 66) ; (3) Pratapgarh and Afzalkhan's tomb (p. 167); (4) Shivaji on horseback (p. 174) ; (5) Plan and elevation of Shivaji's Cenotaph (p. 180).

Jayarāma Kavi's description of Shivaji's visit to the temple of Bhavānī at Pratapgad and of the image of the goddess will be found in the *Parṇālaparvatagrahaṇākhyāna*, chapt. IV, verses 21–34. The temple was thronged with people gathered for the *mahāpūjā*

" घंटामृदंगकाहालदुंदुभिध्वनिनादितम् ।
कालोचितमहापूजासंख्यानृपजनैर्वृतम् ॥ २६ ॥ "

The above remarks give rise to an impression that the works of the Mahomedan historians contain a reference to the Bhavāni sword. I am unable to verify the above statement at present. In the present paper I am confining myself to the reference to the Bhavānī sword in the Maratha records with a view to pointing out the earliest reference to this sword in the contemporary records.

Prof. R. P. Patwardhan in his article on the Afzalkhan incident [9] remarks that the chief sources for the Afzalkhan incident are *Sivabhārata*, *Jedhe Śakāvali*, *Povāḍā*, *Sabhāsadi bakhar* and *91 Kalami Bakhar* and then states [10] that no reference to the use of *vāgh-nakh* occurs in *Śivabhārata*[11], *Jedhe Śakāvali*[12] and 91 *Kalami bakhar*[13]. The *Śivabhārata* refers to "कृपाणिका"[14] while the 91 *Kalami bakhar* refers to only *bichvā* and *paṭṭā*. The *Jedhe Śakāvali* does not refer to any weapon at all. Later Prof. Patwardhan describing how Shivaji got ready to meet Afzalkhan states (p. 176) " He held the *Bhavāni* sword in the right hand and the *bichvā* in the left and tied the shield to his back " (" उजवे हातांत भवानी तरवार व डावे हातांत

9. *Śiva-Caritra-Nibandhāvali* (pub. by B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, Śaka 1851—A.D. 1929) Chapter VII, pp. 161-179.

10. Ibid, p. 164.

11. Edited by S. M. Divekar (B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1927) with numerous illustrations. The text is based on MS No. B. 1409. (Burnell's MSS catalogue), in the Sarasvati Mahal MSS Library of Tanjore. The editor has also availed himself of a palmleaf MS of the *Śivabhārata* which is a Tamil rendering of the original (vide *Upoddhāta*, p. 5). The published text of the *Śivabhārata* contains 2252 *Ślokas* or verses.

12. An English rendering of this chronology appears in *Shivaji Souvenir* (1927) pp. 1 to 45—by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pages 47-99 contain an English rendering of the *Jedhe Karena* by Sir J. Sarkar. The original texts of the *Jedhe Śakāvali* and the *J. Karena* in Marathi were published by Lokamanya B. G. TILAK in *Śiva Carita-Pradīpa* (pp. 14-65) ed. by D. V. APTE and S. M. DIVEKAR (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925). These texts are based on a MS in the possession of Dayajirao Sarjerao Jedhe Deshmukh of the village Kārī in Bhor Sate. This MS is on Portuguese paper (22 folios). RAJAWADE published fragments of this *Śakāvalī* in his *Sources of Maratha History* (Khaṇḍa XVIII, No. 5).

13. Edited by V. S. VAKASKAR, 1930.

14. *Amarakośa* Kāṇḍa II, verse 89 mentions the word कृपाण = sword ("खड्गे तु निस्त्रिंशचन्द्रहासासिरिष्टयः । कौक्षेयको मण्डलाग्रः करवालः कृपाणवत् ॥ ८९ ॥ ") (see B.S.S. edition of Amarakośa, 1907, p. 202). For the text of this work the editor has used a MS copied in A.D. 1297 (Vide his *Sūcanā* at the commencement). Mr. APTE in his dictionary explains कृपाणकः = a sword while he explains कृपाणिक *as a knife or a dagger*. The lexicon *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra records the word : कृपाणिका (३ मर्त्यकाण्ड)—" छुरी छुरी कृपाणिका. "

In the Parṇālaparvatagrahaṇākhyāna (or the story in verse of the capture of the Panhala fort near Kolhapur) composed by Jayarama Kavi in Śaka 1595 (preface p. 1) = A.D. 1673 the following verse shows that the *vāghnakha* was used by Shivaji's soldiers as a matter of routine :— (chapter III, verse 25 of the Bh. I. S. Mandal Edn., 1923, Poona)

" शार्दूलनखलोहनिर्मितनखैर्युतान् "

बिचवा घेतला पाठीला डाक बांधली "). I am not aware if Prof. Patwardhan identifies the " कृपाणिका " referred to in the *Śivabhārata* with the Bhavāni sword. Possibly the term कृपाणिका may refer to the *bichvā* more than to the *Bhavāni* sword. This reference is, however, inconclusive so far as my present inquiry is concerned because we don't get in the *Śivabhārata* any mention of the name भवानी as applied to Shivaji's sword.

In the *Śivakāvya*[15] composed by Puruṣottama in Sanskrit the meeting of Shivaji and Afzalkhan is described at some length. This poem was composed in A.D. 1821 and hence, though its historical value may not be very great it has some merits as a poem. It describes the fatal embrace of Afzalkhan as follows:–

" आलिंगनमक्षण इभं मृगराडिवैनं
धृत्वा नृपस्य सशिरः प्रविधाय बाह्वोः ।
तस्थौ नृपोपि बलवान् नखतोस्य कुक्षी
शस्त्या (स्त्या) बिभेद विशिखो ह्यवनौ पपात ॥ ५९ ॥ "[16]

The MS from which the above verse is quoted contains illustrations in colour of the Afzalkhan incident. One of these illustrations represents Shivaji[17] dressed for the combat or rather his meeting with Afzalkhan. He holds on his right hand the *vāgh-nakha* and a small *dagger* in the left hand.

15. Published in the *Kāvyetihāsa Saṃgraha* (1884, 1887, by K. N. SANE and J. B. MODAK). This *Kāvya* is almost an epic of the Maratha History (from A.D. 1627 to 1818) Puruṣottama's surname was Bandeṣṭi and his family was resident of Palgaun in Ahmadnagar District. Puruṣottama was born in A.D. 1766 and died as a sanyāsi in AD 1856.

16. I have copied this verse from a MS of the work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona,—No. 61 of 1907–15. Puruṣottama composed a commentary on his poem in which he explains the above verse as follows:—

" आलिंगन इति ॥ सः यवनः मृगराट् सिंहः इभमिव आलिंगनस्य क्षणे समये एनं राजानं धृत्वा नृपस्य शिरः बाह्वोः मध्ये प्रविधाय दृढं धृत्वा तस्थौ ॥ बलवान् नृपोपि अस्य यवनस्य कुक्षी कुक्षिप्रदेशौ नखेनेति नखतः सार्वविभक्तिकस्तसिः व्याघ्रनखेनेत्यर्थः शस्त्या (क्या) च बिभेद चिच्छेद हि यस्मात् भेदनात् विगता शिखा यस्मात् सविशिखः यवनोपि अवनौ पपात् पतितवान् ॥ ५९ ॥ "

17. Vide folio 45 a of B. O. R. Institute MS No. 61 of 1907–15. The verse describing the person of Shivaji reads as follows:—

" नात्युच्चो नातिनीचः कमलदलनिभाक्षोतिपीनोन्नतांसो
गौरांगो गूढजत्रुर्मनसि च जनयन्योषितां कामदेवः ।
निर्भीकः सिंहयानोऽस्त्राकरचरणः कंठभूषाविभूषो
मूर्द्धन्यानद्धरक्ताजिनविहितपदत्राणकोसौ प्रतस्थे ॥ ५२ ॥ "

This verse of course does not mention the *vāghnakh* and the dagger shown in the picture (2½ inches × 1½ inch in size) referred to as व्याघ्रनख and शस्त्री in verse 60 on folio 44 a.

which is obviously the *bichwā* referred to in the several accounts of this incident and mentioned as शस्त्री by our poet. The following three verses tell us how Shivaji meditated on his family deity Durgā and obtained her favour before starting on his perilous task :-

" अहं त्वदीयोस्मि सराज्यकोशः कालो बलीयान् कुटिलो ममायम् ।
शत्रुर्महान् भीमबलोऽहमल्पो दुर्गैव देवी शरणं न चान्यः ॥ ४८ ॥
तस्याः प्रसादादहमेवमद्य निहन्मि चिन्ता न हि काचिदत्र ।
तद्वाहिनीं त्वं समवास्तु वीर वीरैर्भटैः पालितवीरसंघैः ॥ ४९ ॥
इत्थं स सेनाधिपतिं प्रबोध्य हस्तांगुले व्याघ्रनखं निबध्य ।
वामे करे सूक्ष्मतरां च शस्त्रीं निधाय देवीं प्रणमन् प्रयातः ॥ ५० ॥ "

The poet explains the word शस्त्री as follows in his commentary :-

" शस्त्री छूरिका स्याच्छस्त्री चासि पुत्री च छुरिका चासि धेनुके त्यमरः ॥ "

It appears to me that the "सूक्ष्मतरा शस्त्री" mentioned by Puruṣottama is same as the कृपाणिका of the *Śivabhārata*. It is, however, difficult to identify कृपाणिका with the *Bhavāni* sword.

James DOUGLAS [18] in his chapter on Shivaji in his *Bombay and Western India* published in 1893 makes a reference to the *Bhavāni* sword and states in a footnote [19] :— " The Genoa blade presented to the Prince of Wales in 1875 during his visit to India by the Raja of Kolhapur " and reproduces a picture of the sword from Grant DUFF's History (p. 346). This picture gives us a long blade of sword with a decorated handle with the scabbard pictured near it. The blade of the sword as represented in this picture is curved at the end but the breadth of the blade is almost uniform and not broadened as in the case of the sword claimed to be Shivaji's sword by Mr. Bomonjee D. PUDUMJI [20] of Poona, who has publi-

18. *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I, pp. 331-346, deal with Shivaji, his country, his birth, his person and character, his accomplishments, his motto, his good and bad traits, etc. These pages contain the following illustrations :—

(1) Picture of Shivaji (bust) from Orme 's Fragments (p. 331).
(2) View of Sinhgath (from a photograph by Dr. T. CROOKE) (p. 339).
(3) Shivaji's sword " *Bhawani* " (from Grant DUFF'S history) (p. 346).

19. Ibid, p. 342 — This footnote explains the statement of Prof. MANKHAO of Baroda referred to earlier in this paper to the effect that the Maharaja of Kolhapur presented the sword to King Edward. The Prince of Wales referred to by James DOUGLAS is of course identical with King Edward VII. Students interested in the history and identification of the Bhavānī sword may hunt up this clue from official sources.

20. Mr. PUDUMJI in his pamphlet (August, 1928) gives us a picture of a sword in his possession which he claims as Shivaji's sword. He also observes (p. 2 of pamphlet) " At any rate one thing is certain that the sword called Bhowāni " has not yet been irrefutably identified. There is a belief in Satara that a sight of the sword causes safe delivery of a woman in labour. " He refers to the information published by Mr. P. M. CHANDORKAR in the *Journal of the*

shed a small pamphlet called "*Notes of the subject of Shivaji's sword*." This sword is a "tegh" sword with a broad curved blade, slightly concave in the middle and made of flexible steel. It is single-edged and higher up double-edged upto a length of 9 inches from its point. The length of the blade measured along the middle of its curve from the point to the hilt is 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The tang of the sword is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide. The blade is broader higher up, the maximum width being nearly 3 inches. The hilt of the sword is beautifully encased with tiny gold flowers [21]. On the other side of the blade are marks of the crescent moon [22] (6 small marks of the crescent moon, 4 small

Bharat Itihasa Mandal, Poona, 1918 A. D., to the effect that on either side of the throne of Shivaji at Satara there are two swords. One of them is an ordinary sword. The other is the Bhavānī sword on the right hand side of the throne. There is an engraving on the blade of this sword viz. "सरकार राजा शाहुछत्रपति कादं" from which we find that King Shahu appears to have engraved his own name on it. On the blade of the sword in the possession of Mr. Pudumji the words "छत्रपति महाराज शीवाजी" are inlaid in gold in Devanāgarī characters. Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR thinks that a letter in the word छत्रपति is written in the style in which we find it in MSS 150 or 200 years old (p. 15 of pamphlet).

21. In a letter dated 12th February, 1912, from Mr. D. P. MOOS to Khan Bahadur B. D. PUDUMJI, the writer considers the sword in question to be a genuine old sword of Shivaji. This opinion is based on the following points;—(1) the quality of the steel (2) its "Tega" shape, a characteristic of the Maratha swords (3) its old-type lettering and (4) the "Tahanshah" work of inlaying the letters, the art of which is now extinct. (Mr. MOOS represented the firm of "The Indian and Oriental Armour", Medow Street, Fort, Bombay). Mr PUDUMJI quotes an extract from the illustrated *Hand-book on Indian Arms* (by Wilbraham EGERTON now Lord, E.) which refers to a sword presented by the King of Kabul to the Governor-General. This sword once belonged to Tamurlane. Swords are estimated by their age, watering or temper. PUDUMJI reproduces a coloured view of "*Jevaheer Khana*" once the residence and strong-hold of Shivaji (Fort Singhur, Dt. Poona) and now in his possession. He also gives an extract from *Satara Gazetteer* (1884) by Sir James CAMPBELL which reads:—(p. 238)—"the sword of Afzalkhan and Shivaji's favourite sword Bhavānī passed to the Moguls on the capture of Shambhaji in 1690. They were restored by Aurangzeb to Shahu in 1707 and till 1827 remained a valued trophy in the armoury of Shivaji's decendants." In the revised edition of his pamphlet, Mr. PUDUMJI (1929) gives a photograph of a brass tray (p. 36) about 2 ft. in diameter with him on which is embossed the celebrated episode in Shivaji's life viz. the release of a beautiful Moghul lady (daughter-in-law of the Subedar of Kalyan) brought as a captive after the sack of Kalyan in 1664 A. D.

22. Mr. PUDUMJI in a revised edition of his pamphlet (21st March, 1929.) on p. 11 draws our attention to the last para 21 of Shivaji's letter to Jaysinha, who invaded the Deccan at the head of the Moghul army. This para reads as follows:—"Tomorrow, the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the *Crescent moon of my sword* shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee." Mr. PUDUMJI is of opinion that the expression "*Crescent moon of my sword*" in the above para represents Shivaji's own description of his sword "as to its shape, i.e., it had a curved blade. The letter of Shivaji from which the above para has been quoted is in Persian and has been published by the Nāgarī Pracharini Sabha of Benares in their *Patrikā*

marks of the full moon possibly and 2 big marks of the crescent moon). Mr. Bomanji PUDUMJI prints on p. 3 of his pamphlet a copy of a letter dated 24th March, 1925, from the authorities of the British Museum stating that the British Museum does not possess the original "Tiger-claw" or sword of Shivaji.[23]

The Sabhāsad Bakhar[24] composed in A. D. 1694 refers in many places to the tutelary deity of Shivaji viz. *Śrī Bhavānī*[25] but no references to the Bhavānī sword can be found in it. The references to the family deity Bhavānī in this *bakhar* are generally associated with the major incidents of Shivaji's intrepid career but I have failed to trace in this source any mention of Bhavānī as the name of Shivaji's sword. I await more light on this problem from scholars who have done intensive researach in the history of the period.

(Bhāga 3, No. 1—Saṃvat 1975). This has been reprinted in the *Shivaji Souvenir* (1927)—*Marathi Section* (pp. 161-170) and English trans. of it in the *English Section* (pp. 170-178). Though this letter in the form of a poem may have a high poetic value its testimony on the question of the shape of Shivaji's sword has no value, especially as the document bears no date and is also of anonymous authorship. Hari Kavi (A. D 1685) describes the *Bhavānī Sword* by the terms "चन्द्रहासः" खड्गवल्ली, असिलता, in his *Śambhurāja Carita*.

23. This reply was received by Mr. V. L. BHAVE, author of the *History of the Marathi Literature* (Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvat) and is printed in the *Journal of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal*, Poona, of Śaka 1837 (= A. D. 1915) p. 12. It is signed by C. HERCULES, Record-keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnology, British Museum, London, W. C.)

24. *Life of* Śiva *Chhatrapati* (by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad) Ed. by K. N. SANE, 1923 (Fourth Edition). Mr. SANE has based his text on five MSS : (1) MS procured from the pujārī at Pratapgad. (2) MS copied in A. D. 1852 and deposited in the Native General Library of Poona. (3) and (4) MSS procured by Krishnajipant Acharya Kalgaunkar of Satara. Mr. SANE has relied on the Pratapgad copy as it is very old and especially on account of its being found at Pratapgad. The date of composition recorded in this MS is Śaka 1616 (= A.D. 1694) but the Saṃvatsara mentioned is "Īśvara" which is equivalent to Śaka 1619 (= A.D. 1697); (5) MS Procured at Mahad, in which some changes appear to have been made from DUFF'S History.

25. Ibid p. 9 ("श्री भवानी कुलदेवता महाराजांची"); pp. 11 and 23 ("श्री भवानी तुळजापुरची"); p. 37 ("श्री भवानी"), p. 42 (श्री शंभूस व भवानीस नमस्कार केला); p. 46 (श्री शंभूमहादेव, "श्री भवानी"), p. 49 ("श्री भवानी"), p. 53 ("श्रीभवानीनें"). p. 63 ("श्री महादेव व श्री भवानी कुलस्वामी"), p. 89 ("श्रीभवानी") (cf. *Jedhe Śakāvalī* under Śaka 1581) — "कदाचित श्री अंबेच्या वरदें अफझलखान मृत्य पावला तरी इमारतीचे आवाज गडावरी होतील" (and under Śaka 1600) भवानीबाई लेक संभाजी राजे यासी जाली (at Sringarpur).

The next important contemporary source of information on the problem of the Bhavāni sword is *the Śivabhārata* [25a] composed by Kavīndra Paramānanda by order of Śrī Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja. This poet hailed from Nidhinivāsa (= Nevase on the bank of Pravarā river) and was a contemporary of the celebrated Gāgābhaṭṭa who officiated at the coronation of Shivaji in A. D. 1674. He composed the *Śivabhārata* after Śaka 1583 (= A. D. 1661) and before Śaka 1596 (= A. D. 1674), the year of Shivaji's coronation at Raigad.[26] Mr. D. V. APTE[27] has already pointed that Shivaji made use of the sword in his fight with Afzalkhan and this sword is none other than the Bhavānī sword referred to by Paramānanda in the *Śivabhārata* in verses 16 and 22 of Chapter XX. These verses are as follows as translated by me in English :—

" Prostrate him (Afzalkhan) to the ground by the great stroke of your sword (असि) as that person (demon in the form of yavana) is constantly rising on this earth for the obstruction of *dharma* " (verse 16).[28]

25a. Edited by S. M. DIVEKAR, Pub. by the Bharata Itihasa Mandal, Poona, Śaka 1849 (= A. D. 1927.) contains a fine frontispiece of a picture of Shivaji in colour from a painting in the Prince of wales Museum, Bombay. It is a facsimile reproduction from the original in which the height of Shivaji's figure is about 8⅜ inches. Other good features of the edition are Upoddhāta pp. 1-28 by S. M. DIVEKAR ; (2) a useful bibliography ; and (3) a masterly introduction by D. V. APTE (pp. 1 to 200.). The text and the Marathi translation of the 31 chapters of this epic. (" चरितं शिवराजस्य भरतस्येव भारतम् "—Chap. I. 22) of the Life of Shivaji has been critically edited. This is followed by an exhaustive index of places and persons mentioned in the text. The illustrations besides the frontispiece are (1) a contemporary horoscope of Shivaji by Śivarāma Jyotiṣī (page 56); (2) photo of folio 89 of MS recording verses about the birth-date of Shivaji (p. 56) : (3) photo of the extract from *Jedhe Śakāvalī* containing the birthdate of Shivaji (p. 56) ; (4) Bangalore Fort (p. 64) ; 5 Images of the Goddess Bhavānī at Fort Śivaneri (Siwāī) and at Fort Pratapgad (Bhavānī) (p. 65) ; (6) Map illustrating the Muslim dominions in Shahaji's time (p. 80); (7) Map of Karnatak in Shahaji's time (p. 80) ; (8) Map of Southern India in Shahaji's time (p. 80) ; (9) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Konkon in Śaka 1583 (= A.D. 1661) (p. 81); (10) Photos, of the forts, Purandhar, Rajagad and Simahgad (p. 208) ; (11) Photos of Pratapgad, Panhalgad and of a picture of Afzalkhan (p. 209 ; (12) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Śaka 1589 (= A.D. 1667) after the Afzalkhan incident (p. 246); (13) Map illustrating Shivaji's battle of Umbarkhind (p. 248) ; (14) Map illustrating Shaista Khana's invasion of Śaka 1582 (= A. D. 1660) ; (15) Map illustrating the siege of Panhalgad Śaka 1582 (= A. D. 1660) (p. 249) ; (16) Pictures of Shah Jahan, Mahmmad Adil shah, Shaista Khan, Jasavant Sinha, Aurangzeb, Fazalkhan, Raja Jayasinha and Dilerkhan (pp. 252-258.)

26. These Chronological limits are given by Mr. DIVEKAR (vide p. 20 of his Upoddhāta to the *Śivabhārata*). The poem refers to the death of Siddi Johar (A.D. 1661).

27. *Śivabhārata* (Prastāvanā, p. 168). In the Index (p. 12 under Bhavānī Tarvār reference is made to verses 22 and 23 of Chap. XX of the text.

28. Page 193 *Śivabhārata*—

" उद्भवन्तं निरोधाय धर्मस्येह मुहुर्मुहुः ।
तमेनमसिपातेन महता भुवि पातय ॥ १६ ॥ "

" It has been ordained by the Creator that he (Afzalkhan) should be killed by this hand of yours and hence, O King, I (goddess Tuljā) have identified myself with your sword (कृपाणी) " — (verse 22) [29]

"With these words Śarvāṇī, i. e. the goddess Bhavānī or Tuljā entered his sword (कृपाणिम्) and he (Shivāji) though in a waking state regarded it (the whole occurrence) as a dream. " — (verse 23). [30]

In the above verse we get a genesis of the Bhavānī sword which is perhaps the earliest on record from contemporary sources : Evidently the goddess Bhavāni enters the usual sword of Shivāji and makes it unusual. This association of the goddess Bhavānī with Shivāji's sword given in a contemporary record (between 1661 and 1674 A. D.) is extremely valuable as it explains how the term *Bhavāni tarvār* came into being. The verses quoted above do not, however, refer to any sword of Shivāji as *Bhavāni tarvār*, an expression which became an established usage during the course of centuries that have elapsed since the tragedy of Afzalkhan. The human sword of Shijvāji having once become divine by its association with the goddess Bhavānī and thus having been linked up in popular imagination with all the heroic exploits of Shivāji, whom the people believed to be an incarnation of Śiva,-this human sword has now become an object of much wonder and speculation for the historian and the patriot alike. It would be certainly a red-letter day on which its existence and identification are proved beyond challenge by any scholar or institution interested in historical research. Our duty for the time being is to collect all possible information which might help scholars and patriots in keeping the memory of the Bhavānī sword fresh in their minds so that this quest of the holy grail may continue unabated by all lovers of the Maratha history in particular and of history in general.

The foregoing discussion and record of references to the Bhavānī sword appears to me like Shakespeare's drama Hamlet without the King of Denmark. The account of this sword as recorded in the *Śivadig-*

29. Ibid—

" विधिना विहितोऽस्यास्य मृत्युस्त्वत्पाणिनामुना ।
अतस्तिष्ठामि भूत्वाहं कृपाणी भूमिपे तव ॥ २२ ॥ "

30. Ibid, p. 194—

" व्याहरन्तीति शर्वाणी तत्कृपाणीमवीविशत् ।
असौ जाग्रदवस्थोऽपि तत्स्वप्नमवमन्यत ॥ २३ ॥ "

vijaya being a late one [31] cannot be taken as historical truth especially in the absence of contemporary evidence to support it in material particulars. The account of the *Śivabhārata* is quite valuable so far as the genesis of the expression *Bhavānī tarvār* is concerned. The reference to this sword in the Chitnis bakhar of A.D. 1811 is also not very helpful. It is, therefore, necessary to search for more contemporary references to the Bhavānī sword like that of the *Śivabhārata*. Such references alone can give that factual touch to the history of this question which is necessary to fill up the historical void that separates us from the time of the author of the *Śivabhārata*. I shall, therefore, conclude this paper by putting on record at least one contemporary reference to the *Bhavānī* sword in which we find a poetic description of the exploits of the Bhavānī sword in the hands of King Sambhāji, to whom this sword must have passed on as a heroic legacy after Shivaji's death in A.D. 1680. This reference is also very important as it is the only one so far discovered in which the name "*Bhavānī's Sword*" is mentioned five years after the death of Shivaji, i.e in A.D. 1685 and in which no less than 3 verses or 12 lines are devoted to the praise of this sword. The bearing of these verses on the history of the Bhavānī sword was not quite apparent to me when I noticed them first three years ago in my paper,[32] on "*Hari Kavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a Court-poet of King Sambhāji and his Works.*" I was then under the impression that in the documents of the period many authentic references to the Bhavānī sword must have been traced and scientifically recorded by the indefatigable researchers [33] in the field. When, however, I began to look for them in the

31. Vide *Śiva Caritra-Pradīpa* (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona 1925) p. 75 where the date of composition of the *Śivadigvijaya* is given as Śaka 1740 = A.D. 1818. The extracts from several Bakhars relating to the birth date of Shivaji (pp. 71–78) will be found interesting. These bakhars are (1) *Sabhāsad B.* (A.D. 1697), (2) Chitragupta B. (about A.D. 1759), (3) 96 *Kalami B.* (A.D. 1780), (4) *Bakhar* composed *for Savai Madhavarao Peshwa* (Rajawade *Khaṇḍa* 4) (A.D. 1783), (5) *Chitnis B.* (A.D. 1810), (6) *Chitni B.* (A.D. 1817), (7) *Śivadigvijaya* (A.D. 1818), (8) *Panta Pratinidhi B.* (A.D. 1844), (9) *Panditrao B.* (A.D. 1818), (10) *Shri Shivaji Pratap* (A.D. 1829), (11) *Shedgaonkar B.* (A.D. 1854).

32. This paper was submitted to the Modern History Congress, Poona in June, 1935 and was published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVI, pp. 262-291. Hari Kavi was a resident of Surat. His family hailed from the Mahārāṣṭra. He composed (1) *Sambhurāja-Carita* by order of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, the guru of Sambhaji, (2) *Haihayendra-Carita* and its commentary *Śambhuvilāsikā* by order of Sambhaji and an anthology called the *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. The *Śambhurāja-Carita* was completed at Surat on 19th January, 1685. It is a mahākāvya in 12 sargas of which only some fragments are available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

33. Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI, the Mahārāṣṭra Historian, has directed my attention in a private communication dated 16th April, 1938 to his views on the problem of Bhavānī Sword as recorded by him on p. 53 of his volume on Shivaji (*Marathi Riyasat*—2, *Śaka Kartā, Shivaji*,

published records I was thoroughly disappointed to find a woeful lack of reliable information on the question of the history of the Bhavānī sword based on contemporary and subsequent evidence. Evidently the problem has not been examined by any scholar competent to search for, scrutinize and arrange in a chronological order all the available data bearing on the question. I have gathered in this paper a few facts regarding the Bhavānī sword solely with a view to provide a historical background to Hari Kavi's description of this sword in his *Śambhurāja-Carita*, composed in A. D. 1685. This description shows that to a resident of Surat like Hari Kavi the glory of the Bhavānī sword had some poetic appeal as will be clear from the following verses :–

Folio 82[34] of MS No. 191 of 1875-76 –

" राजन्कि घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मंद वाचो
वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो[35] भवान्यां(न्याः) ।
चक्रेसत्प्रमत्तद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्णा
सा धीराशंसिनीभूस्त्रिजगति विजयाशंसिनी यत्र कास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥
शंभो त्वत्खड्गवल्ली[36] लसति समुदिता कालकादंबिनीव[37]
ध्वांताली[38] सैन्यधूली वत जगति समातत्य[39] झत्कार विद्युत् ।
अस्त्रां वारिरपारे[40] प्रधनवसुमतीं[41] प्लावयन्ती[42] समन्तात्

Bombay, 1935) :—Shivaji during his Konkan expedition (A. D. 1657–58) came into contact with Lakham Savant of Goa (1651-1675 A. D.) whom he made a vassal. This Savant had in his possession a famous sword manufactured in Europe, which Shivaji acquired by presenting the Savant 300 *hons* and a dress of honour. This sword was named *Bhavani*. As its possession brought much success to Shivaji he used to worship it daily. This sword is still at Satara in the temple of the goddess and is included among articles for worship. (*Footnote* :— King Shahaji (father of Shivaji) sent by sea some valuable articles from Karnatak such as a bedstead, a belt and an armour and a *Phiranga talvar* according to the statement of the *Cchoti Bakhar* of the Maratha Empire. It is possible to conclude that the sword included among the above articles is the Bhavānī Sword. The story about the transfer of this sword to London is not true.).

34. Vide *Annals*, XVI, p. 266, where these verses have been quoted by me.

35. चंद्रहास = a glittering sword (Apte) : " खड्गे तु निस्त्रिंशचन्द्रहासासिरिष्टयः " Amarakośa (II. 8, 89). Bhānuji Dīkṣita explains :— "चन्द्र इव हासः प्रभा अस्य। चन्द्रं हसति वा। द्युतिमत्वात्."

36. खड्गवल्ली = the sword-creeper = sword resembling a creeper possibly by its length and elasticity.

37. कादंबिनी = a long line of clouds.

38. ध्वांत = darkness ; आली = a row or continuous line.

39. समातत्य = having over-spread in an intense manner.

40. The unfathomable waters in the form of weapons (used by the army). वार = water.

41. प्रधन = Battle and वसुमती = earth ; प्रधनवसुमती = the battle-field.

42. प्लावयन्ती = flooding.

प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुंभोद्र[43]वमणिकरका[44] न्वक्षिपंती नितांतं ॥ १२७ ॥

सृते नानापदार्थास्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्भुतं तद्

तापार्कं कीर्तिचंद्रं विजयहुतभुजं तारकालीं गुणालीं ।

झत्कारान्विद्युदोघानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां

नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसरावाप्यशैवालिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥ "

In the foregoing three verses Hari Kavi gives us a fine poetic description of the " *Bhavāni's Sword* " [45] and its doings on the battle-field. This description is inserted in the battle-scene of the *Śambhurāja-Carita* in which Sambhāji is shown as surrounded by the army of his enemy intending to attack him. With him we find *Campā*, the terror-struck heroine of the poem on her journey to her husband's home after her marriage[46] with Sambhāji at Surat as also *Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita*[47] the guru of the Maratha King, who is described as a very important personage throughout the poem and at whose instance, Hari Kavi informs us, he wrote the *Śambhurāja-Carita*. This description of the Bhavānī's sword has an earlier parallel in the description of the sword of Shahāji[48] by Jayarāma

43. इभकुंभ = the foreheads of elephants which were full grown (प्रौढ). The elephants had their temples shattered to pieces (क्षुण्ण).

44. मणिकरकान् = Hail stones in the form of pearls in the temples of elephants (the temples of elephants are supposed to contain pearls). Verses 126 and 127 contain a metaphor of a violent storm attended with lightning and dark clouds and followed by a heavy rain shower with hail stones.

45. The MS has the reading " चन्द्रहासो भवान्यां " The correct reading ought to be चंद्रहासो भवान्या: = *Bhavānī's sword.*

46. The *Śambhurāja-Carita* (A. D. 1685) gives a detailed description of Sambhāji's marriage with Campā. In this connection compare a picture of a marriage scene in colours painted on folio 61 of *Skandha* IX of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (B. O. R. Institute MS No. 61 of 1907-1915). This MS was prepared in A. D. 1648 at Udayapura. The picture in question shows the bride and bridegroom in matrimonial attire seated facing each other with two priests shown seated near the bride and the bridegroom with the nuptial fire between the priests. Another picture on the same folio shows the bride and bridegroom seated on a chariot possibly on a journey to the bridegroom's home. The chariot is dragged by two white horses.

47 I shall prove in a separate paper the identity of this Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita with Kavi Kalasha or Kabji, the celebrated minister of king Sambhāji.

48. Vide p. 236 of *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa champū* by Jayarāma Pindye, edited by V. K. RAJAWADE (Śaka 1844 = 1922 A.D.) Poona. This poem is a Life of Shahāji, the father of Shivāji and grandfather of Sambhāji. The description of a sword or खड्गवर्णन occurs in the 8th Ullāsa (verses 227–285) as follows :—

" पुनरपरस्मिन् दिवसे यथापूर्वमुपविशति सति राजनि शस्त्रमार्जकतैलपायितां रत्नखचितमुष्टिमंजुलां पार्श्ववर्तिभृत्यपाणिगृहीतां कृपाणिकामवलोकितुं विकोशां कुर्वाणे सति स कविर्वर्णयामास ।

Kavi, who composed his *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa Champū* or a Life of Shahāji between Śaka 1575 (= A. D. 1653) and Śaka 1580 (A. D. 1658).[49] Evidently Jayarāma Kavi was a senior contemporary of Hari Kavi (A. D. 1685) and his description of Shahāji's sword is not merely poetic but factual as well. It is described as " रत्नखचितमुष्टिमंजुलां " or " *lovely on account of its having a handle bedecked with jewels.* " It is compared to a cloud (कृपाणजलद) and is called कृष्णा or of darkish lustre due to its being rubbed clean by the application of some polishing oil (शस्त्रमार्जकतैलघावितां). Will it be possible to prove on documentary evidence that this very sword of Shahāji actually seen and described by Jayarāma Kavi before A. D. 1658 was transferred to Shivāji sometime thereafter and was actually in his possession at Pratapgad at the time of the Afzalkhān incident of A. D.

यथामति मया विभो तव कृपाणिकायाः स्तुति
विधाय विनिगद्यते सदसि सत्कवीनां पुरः ।
परिक्षणविचक्षणाक्षितितलैकसंरक्षण--
क्षणं ललितलक्षणश्रवणमत्र संदीयतां ॥ २२७ ॥
राजा सादरं तच्छ्रुतवान् । यथा ।

नृप तव कृपाणिकेयं दृढतरकरपीडनेन संभ्रांता ।
अपहृतकोशा भूमीर्निपतति परिहृत्य वैरिणां कंठे ॥ २२८ ॥
नृप तव कृपाणिकायाः प्रायः सरा<ग्नी छाया ।
अनया निकृत्य शत्रूननुकुंठति सापि तत्र पत्रस्थान् ॥ २२९ ॥

हस्तोदितो विचित्रः शाहमहीपाल खड्गमेघस्ते ।
वर्षति यत्र हि धारां कुरुते तत्रैव जीवजीवनाभावं ॥ २३० ॥
आश्चर्यं तव शाहक्षितीश दृष्टं कृपाणजलदस्य ।
वृष्टिं विनैव कुरुते यस्तृणसृष्टिं प्रतीपरदनेषु ॥ २३१ ॥
अवलोकितं श्रुतं वा कैरपि चलनं जलस्य जलपुरतः ।
नृप तव कृपाणनीरद् गच्छति नीरं परस्य वदनस्थं ॥ २३२ ॥
कृष्णा कापि कृपाणी राजधानी विलक्षणा जयति ।
हरति पररक्तवर्णं स्वीयेनाच्छाद्य कालेन ॥ २३३ ॥
श्रीमान् महाप्रयागः पुष्करकलिता कलिंदजा यस्मिन् ।
भूभुन्मौलिषु ललिता सूते चित्रं सरस्वतीं गंगां ॥ २३४ ॥
अलमलमधुना शाहक्षितीश दृष्टे कृपाणनुतिभिर्यः ।
तृणमप्यरिंदंतधृतं विलोक्य निलयान्निःसरति ॥ २३५ ॥

एवमादीन्यन्येषामपि महाकवीनां खड्गवर्णनान्याकर्ण्य किमपि विविदिपुरिवान्यत्राकृष्टहृदिरभवत् । etc. "

49. According to RAJAWADE ; vide p. 4 of his Intro. to *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa*.

1659 ? If this sword of Shahāji is proved to be identical with the sword of his son Shivāji with which the goddess Bhavānī identified herself at the time of the Afzalkhan incident as stated by Kavīndra Paramānanda between A. D. 1661-1674 it would be easy for us to imagine that this same sword passed on to Sambhāji[50] after his father's death in A. D. 1680 and was later described by Hari Kavi in A. D. 1685. Even if this identity of the two swords remains doubtful it would be worth-while representing the results of our discussion about the contemporary references to the swords of *Shahājī*, *Shivājī* and *Sambhājī* in a tabular form as follows :—

Serial No.	Owner	Source of Description	Date of Description	Description
1	*Shahāji*	Jayarāma Kavi in VIII Ullāsa of *Rādhāmādhava-vilāsa* Campū.	Between *1653-1658* A. D.	" रत्नखचितमुष्टि-मंजुलां " and " कृपाण '
2	*Shivāji*	Kavīndra Paramānanda in *Śivabhārata*, XX, 16, 22, 23.	Bet. A. D. *1661-1674*	कृपाणी or असि
3	*Sambhāji*	Hair Kavi in *Śambhurāja-Carita*	*12th January 1685*	चंद्रहासो भवान्याः - असिलता or चन्द्र-वल्ली

The foregoing table shows three different swords associated with the grandfather, the father and the son in one and the same line of kings and described by three different poets, all of whom were contemporaries of their patrons. The difference of about 30 years between the first contemporary reference to a sword and the last reference and the chronological sequence of references tend to suggest a hypothesis for further verification that the objects referred to by three contemporary poets are not several but identical.

The foregoing discussion about the Bhavānī sword associated with the hair-raising exploits of Shri Shivājī Mahārāja raises the question of

50. Cf. Bar. M. K. SETT'S remarks in his article on " Sri Vatsyayana " in the *Jubilee Volume* (1938) of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, p. 197—" A young man is asked to go out into the world and carve a career for himself. The carving was done by his trusty sword, often the parting gift of his family. "

the existence or otherwise of any earlier historical parallel to the story of the Bhavānī sword as now finds currency in the Mahārāṣṭra and the veracity of which has to a certain extent been confirmed by Hari Kavi's description of the *Bhavānī's sword* (भवान्याः चंद्रहासः) in the hands of King Sambhāji. Luckily for us such a historical parallel[51] is found in the divine sword given by a strange woman to Kumāra Kampaṇa, the eldest son of King Bukka of Vijayanagara and which had been the heir-loom in the royal Pāṇḍyan family.

The account of this Pāṇḍyan sword has been fortunately preserved for us in a magnificent poem[52] composed by Kumāra Kampaṇa's talented queen Gaṅgādevī and hence possesses much historical value. Kumāra Kampaṇa also called Kamparāya was the son of Bukka I (A. D. 1376—death, V. SMITH *Oxf. His.* 1923, p. 302) by his wife Depāyi. When the prince Kampaṇa grew to manhood his father advised him on the duties of royal princes and asked him to proceed against the king of the Turushkas with his headquarters at Madura. Kampaṇa accordingly undertook this expedition and pitched his camp in the town of Marakata.[53] *A goddess appeared before him and after describing to him the disastrous consequences of the Mussalman invasions of the South and the sad plight of the southern country and its temples exhorted him to extirpate the invaders and restore the country to its ancient glory, presenting him at the same time with a divine sword.* Kamparāya then proceeded against Madura and in a battle, killed the Sultan ruling at the place. He then made grants to several temples.[54]

The closeness of the above historical parallel to the story of the *Bhavānī* sword is remarkable. Though the *Pāṇḍyan sword* mentioned by Gaṅgādevī as presented to her husband Kamparāya is removed historically by about 350 years the points of similarity of the circumstances connected with each sword may now be tabulated as follows :—

51. I am thankful to my friend Dr. B. A. SALETORE, for pointing out to me this parallel.

52. Vide *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. AIYANGAR, Madras, 1919, pp. 23–24 where Dr. AIYANGAR has given us a brief analysis of each of the eight cantos of Gaṅgādevī's historical poem called कम्परायचरितम् from a MS in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. Vide printed edition of this poem also called मधुराविजयम् by Pt. Shrinivas SHASTRI of Travancore, Archaeological Department (Trivandrum).

53. *Kamparāya Caritam*, Canto V.

54. *Ibid.*, VIII.

The Pāṇḍyan Sword	*The Bhavāni Sword*
(1) This sword is given by a *goddess* to the hero.	(1) This sword is also given by the goddess *Bhavānī* to the hero.
(2) The hero here is *Kumāra Kampaṇa* or *Kamparāya*, son of Bukka I.	(2) The hero here is *Shivāji*, son of *Shahāji*.
(3) This sword is given to the hero on the eve of the performance of a heroic deed viz. the destruction of the *Sultan* of *Madura* by *Kamparāya*.	(3) This sword is also supposed to be given on the eve of Shivāji's meeting with and destruction of *Afzalkhan*.
(4) The object of the exploit of the hero was to deliver the Hindus from the tyranny of the Muhammadans, not to say their religious oppression and desecration of Hindu temples.	(4) The object of Shivāji's exploit was also to deliver the Hindus of the Maharashtra from the Moghul and Muhammadan tyranny indicated by the breaking of Hindu idols and destruction of Hindu temples.
(5) Kamparāya, the hero kills the Sultan of Madura and becomes victorious.	(5) Shivāji kills Afzalkhan and effectively checks the Muhammadan tyranny.
(6) Kamparāya makes grants to several temples after the conquest of Madura.	(6) Shivāji also made some grants to some men of his court according to the *Śivadigvijaya*.[55]

55. Ed. by P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR, Baroda, 1895, p. 171—"Pantajipant was the recipient of the *ināms* of the village Hivareal. He was also given the robes of honour. Visvāsrao Nānāji and others who had served (at the time of the Afzalkhān incident) were also the recipients of some *ināms*, etc. A new tower was built at the place where Afzalkhān was killed, etc."

I believe the above parallelism between the incidents associated with the Pāṇḍyan sword and those connected with the Bhavānī sword will be found sufficiently interesting by the students of the Maratha history.

In concluding my survey of the problem of the Bhavānī sword I have to point out that so far no contemporary reference to this sword has yet been traced by scholars working in the field of the Maratha history. In view of this fact vouched by close students of the Maratha history Hari Kavi's reference to the Bhavāni sword in A. D. 1685 must be treated as "practically contemporary" [56] and hence should retain its evidential value in any discussion about the genesis and historicity of the Bhavānī sword. In view of the decaying condition of the MS in which Hari Kavi's verses about the Bhavānī sword are found I have thought it advisable to publish along with this paper photograph of the folio of the MS on which these verses are recorded as also that of the last folio on which the date of composition of the *Śambhurāja-Carita* is found. [57]

56. This paper was read before the Bharat Itihāsa Sama. Mandal, Poona in June 1938. Mr. V. S. BENDRE who was then in London, had sent a note on the subject of this paper for the annual gathering of the Mandal where this paper was read. On reading this note I wrote to Mr BENDRE pointing out that there is no contemporary evidence regarding the Bhavāni sword except the three verses of Hari Kavi. Subsequently Mr. BENDRE sent me a copy of his paper on the Bhavāni sword which he had contributed to a London Journal and in which he has admitted the force of my evidence as will be seen from the following extract :— "Where is the Bhavāni sword of the great Mahratta hero Shivāji ? Much has been told in the later chronicles about this sword which was a gift to him by his goddess Shri Bhavāni. These narratives are not, however, quite unanimous in their description. *The only practically contemporary reference is that by Hari Kavi* in his *Śambhurāja Carita* (1685 A.D.)— Folio 82 verses 126-8 of this work—photo-copy supplied by my friend Mr. P. K. GODE. "

57. Plates I and II containing the two photographs under reference are not reproduced here.

8. Pārijāta-dhvaja of the Marāṭhā King Sambhāji *

(mentioned by his Court-poet Hari Kavi in A.D. 1685)

An exhaustive study of Indian banners from the earliest times up to the present day based on contemporary sources is yet a desideratum in spite of the references to banners recorded in literary and other sources. In the present paper I propose to record two verses containing a reference to the banner of the Marāṭhās in the 17th century. These verses read as follows:—

Folio 74 of the *Śambhurājacarita*[1] — Battle scene

"करस्फुरद्नर्गलप्रवरचंद्रहासप्रभा -
विभासितदिगाखिभिः सुभटकोटिभिः प्रोद्धटः ।
स भूपतिशिखामणिद्युतिमरीचिमालार्चितः
सुगुल्फिमकरोद्गुरोस्तदनु पारिजातध्वजः ॥ ६१ ॥"

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* Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, pp. 40-47.

1. Vide my paper in the *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute) Vol. XVI (1935), pp. 262-291. The only MS of the *Śambhurājacarita* so far known is No. 191 of 1875-76 in the Govt. MSS Library, at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

In the *Śivabhārata* (composed *between A.D.* 1661 and 1674) of Kavīndra Paramānanda there are references to banners which may be noted here:—

Chapter XXIV, 56 — "अग्रतः प्रचलन्तीनां पताकानां समंततः
कान्तिभिः सकलं व्योम तदा कीर्मीरतां दधौ ॥ ५६ ॥"

Chapter XXIV, 63 — "क्षिपद्भिः क्षितिमपि चलद्गुहिमाचा -
कोन्मुक्ताः क्वचन पताकिभिः पताकाः ॥ ६३ ॥"

Chapter III, 13 — "स्वैः स्वैः सैन्यैः परिवृताः पुरः प्रोच्छ्रायितध्वजैः"

Chapter VI, 16 — "केतनोन्नमनं चोच्चैश्चारुचामरवीजनम्"

Chapter XI, 13 — "तरलाभिः पताकाभिस्तडितः परितर्जयन्"

Chapter XII, 9 — "कम्पयन्त इवाकाशं पताकापटमण्डलैः"

Chapter XII, 79 — "सपताको ध्वजश्चापि"; 85 – "पताकिनीपाल"
117 — "न पताका न च ध्वजः"

Chapter XIV, 5 — "पताकोर्मिविराजितम्"; 35 — "पताकिनी"

Chapter XXII, 60 — "पताकाभिर्ध्वजैरपि"; XXIII, 62 — "पताकिनीम्"

Chapter XXIV, 24 }
" 29 } "पताकिनीम्"; XXVIII, 13 — "ध्वजिनीं ताम्रवक्त्राणाम्"

In the above stanza the word गुरोः refers to Kavi Kalaśa,[2] the minister of Sambhāji. The word चंद्रहास possibly refers to the Bhavānī sword[3] in the hand of Sambhāji and the expression पारिजातध्वज appears to refer to the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā*, the banner of the Marāṭhās. The verse describes Sambhāji as surrounded by the army of the enemy. Kavi Kalaśa, the *guru*[4] of Sambhāji is represented here as accompanying his royal disciple. Sambhāji, therefore, tried to protect his *guru* as also the royal banner called here पारिजातध्वज by the poet. In this battle scene Sambhāji's wife Campā,[5] the heroine of the *Śambhurājacarita* is also shown by the poet to be by his side in the royal chariot on their return from Surat, where the marriage[6] of the heroine took place. The poet refers again to the पारिजातध्वज in the following verse on *folio* 79 of the *Śambhurājacarita*:—

"अये किमिति दीपिते मम कृपाणकालानले
मया ननु पतंगतां समधिगंतुमागम्यते ।
भयत्सुदयते ह्यसिमंम गवेषयास्मद्सुतं
प्रचंडतरकार्मुकं तमिह पारिजातध्वजम् ॥ १०८ ॥"

As the expression पारिजातध्वज represents in the foregoing verses the banner of the Marāṭhās[7] in the 17th century we have to determine

2. Kavi Kalaśa is called Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita by Hari Kavi in verses 124 and 125 on folio 92 of the *Śambhurājacarita* ("यस्यास्ते गुरुरेक एव सुनिधिः कृष्णो गुणोघांबुधिः"–v. 125 and "श्रीकृष्णा-खंडितात्कत्रिभुवनविषये कोविदक्लेशहर्ता" —v. 124).

3. Verses 126, 127, and 128 on folio 92 of the *Śambhurajacarita* MS describe the Bhavānī sword in the hands of king Sambhāji ("वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो भवान्या (न्याः)" —v.126).

4. *Cf. folio 74* — "समेत्य सचिवैः समं तदनुमानसं भूपति–
दंचार गुरुर्नोदितो निजवरूथिनीसज्जने"

5. *Cf. folio 78* — "चचाल चललोचनां समुपवेश्य चंपां रथे"

6. History knows no wife of Sambhāji of the name Campā. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes to me under date 21st *May*, 1936.— "I am inclined to think that Campā was the mother of that Madan Singh, an illegitimate son of Shambhāji, who was kept a prisoner in Aurangzeb's camp along with Shahu after the fall of Raigad in 1689."

7. *Vide* p. 161 of *Śaka-Kartā Shivāji* by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, 1935. Dealing with *Symbols of Royalty* Rao Bahadur Sardesai observes:— "*Shivāji* made current certain special symbols of Royalty connected with the royal throne (*Siṃhāsana*). Certain royal symbols like *Jaripaṭkā*, Ḍaṅkā etc. were used in ancient times. These were renewed by Shivāji at the time of his coronation after giving them proper authority of the *Śāstras*. The *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* was formerly used by many warriors. The Marāṭhā Sardars used this flag generally while proceeding to battle. *Jaripaṭkā* was a dignified transformation of this flag. It was Shivāji who first made it a symbol of royalty, though it was later adopted at several places in the Marāṭhā Empire. The *Jaripaṭkā* was not meant to be used at all times in warfare but it was displayed

its exact significance and ascertain if it is identical (or otherwise) with the orange-coloured *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* of the Marāṭhās so popular in the Mahārāṣṭra.

In the absence of contemporary descriptions of the Marāṭhā banner[8] recorded in monographs we have to make the best of the expression used by Hari Kavi viz. पारिजातध्वज.

The *Pārijāta* flower proper is *white* but its stalk is of *orange* colour. How can we prove, therefore, that the expression पारिजातध्वज means the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā*, the orange-coloured banner of the Marāṭhās? I shall, however, record the evidence collected by me in favour of the identity of the *Pārijāta dhvaja* with the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā*. This evidence is as follows:—

(1) Hari Kavi was a Deccani Brahmin resident of Surat as he himself states in his works, fragments of which have been preserved in the Govt. MSS Library at the B.O.R. Institute. He composed the *Śambhurājacarita* by order[9] of Sambhāji's minister Kavi Kalaśa, whom he calls Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita. He also composed his *Haihayendracarita* and its commentary *Śambhuvilāsikā* by order[10] of Sambhāji himself as stated by him in this work. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that he knew Sambhāji's banner very closely and consequently his description of it as *Pārijāta-dhvaja* is based on a direct knowledge of the banner.

(2) Hari Kavi was a resident of Surat in Gujarat, where the orange-coloured stems of the white *Pārijāta* flowers are crushed for dying pieces

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on special occasions during processions. The *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* was used before Shivāji's time by his father Shahāji. The foregoing genesis of our flags as it has come down to us appears to be acceptable." (This is the substance of Rao Bahadur Sardesai's remarks in Marāṭhī about Royal Symbols).

8. Vide p. 280 of *Shivāji and his Times* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1919—Description of a street procession at Raigarh: "(*Shivāji*) rode through the streets of the capital in full military procession..............with two royal banners *Jaripaṭkā* and *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* borne aloft on two elephants walking in the van."

James Douglas on p. 178 of vol. I (1893) of *Bombay and Western India* writes:—"Shivāji's standard Bhagava Zanda was swallow-tailed and of a deep orange-colour but on a big day like this the *Jaripaṭkā* or golden streamer the national ensign of the Marathas no doubt waved from the great arch which still crowns the highest plateau of Raygarh."

9. Vide verse 172 on folio 233 (20) of *Śambhurājacarita*:—

"यः श्री शंभुमहीपतेरपि गुरोस्तस्यैव कृष्णाख्यया
विख्यातस्य निदेशतः करमिदं काव्यं व्यधादद्भुतम् ॥ १७२ ॥"

10. Vide verse 10 of *Haihayendracarita* and commentary (MS No. 829 of 1875-76):—

"तस्याज्ञयैव विबुधान्प्रति नैजभाव-
प्रोद्बोधनाय हरिणा किल तन्यतेऽस्य।"

of cloth.[11] The method of preparing red or orange colour from the stems of the *Pārijāta* flower appears to have been current from ancient times. *Pārijāta* trees grow wild in large numbers on the Deogarh hill situated in Deogarh Baria between Dohad and Godhra in Gujarat. In view of this it would be reasonable to conclude that Hari Kavi meant by his expression "*Pārijāta dhvaja*" the *orange-coloured* banner of the Marāṭhās known to us as the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā*.

(3) In this connection it is interesting to note the association of the *Pārijāta* flower with red colour as recorded in literature as early as the 5th century A. D. In a Jain work, called the *Rājapraśnīyasūtra*,[12] which is the 2nd Upāṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, *Sūtra 15* mentions "पालियाय कुसुमे" (पारिजातकुसुम) among the standards of comparison for red-coloured objects, the other standards being (1) उरभ्ररुधिर (blood of a ram), (2) शशरुधिर (blood of a hare), (3) नररुधिर (human blood), (4) वराहरुधिर (blood of a boar), (5) माहिषरुधिर (blood of a buffalo), (6) बालेन्द्रगोप (young Indragopa insects), (7) बालदिवाकर (early morning Sun), (8) संध्याभ्रराग (red glow of evening clouds), (9) गुञ्जार्धराग (red colour of the half of the Guñjā seed), (10) जपाकुसुम (the red *Japā* flower), (11) किंशुककुसुम (the red *Kiṃśuka* flower) etc.

In view of the references recorded above and in view of the influence of the classical Sanskrit literature on Hari Kavi's writings, the association of the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* or the banner of the Marāṭhās with the *Pārijāta tree* (with all its legendary associations) appears to me to be the happiest one devised by our poet to signify in one and the same expression not

11. I am thankful to Mr. S. P. Shukla, a Vaidya in Poona, for supplying me the following references from botanical works regarding the *Pārijāta*:— (i) "पारिजातक N. C. Chinese, L. *Nyctanthus arbortristis Linn*— Native women and children collect them and separating the orange-coloured tubes from the white petals, dry them in the sun and preserve them for dying their clothes a beautiful buff or orange-colour" —(Page 190 of *The Materia Medica of the Hindus* by Uday Chandra Dutt).

(ii) "The flower stalks yield a fine, but fleeting buff or orange-colour. To extract the dyes the dry flowers are boiled in water, one pound of flowers requiring ten gallons of water, which are evaporated till one gallon is left; the cloth is then dipped into the liquor and hung out to dye. Five yards of muslin can thus be dyed with one pound of flowers. Silk also takes the colour fairly well."—(Page 247 of the *Botanical Volume, Bombay Gazetteer*).

12. Ed. by Prof. N. V. Vaidya, of the Fergusson College, Poona, 1938, p. 64.—I am thankful to Prof. Vaidya for having directed my attention to this passage.

only the *orange colour*[13] *of the* banner but its desire–yielding virtues as the *Pārijāta* tree is called *Kalpavṛkṣa*.[14]

The references to the Marāṭhā banner viz. the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* in contemporary sources[15] will throw more light on the subject of this paper viz. the *Pārijāta-dhvaja* mentioned by Hari Kavi in A. D. 1685. I have not been able to trace any such references though in later sources we find some references of the *Jari-paṭkā*. I shall, therefore, record these references in this paper with a request to the scholars of the Marāṭhā history to publish contemporary references to the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* and the *Jari-paṭkā* :—

(1) *A. D 1776* — In a letter[16] dated *Śaka 1698* (*Pauṣa Śuddha*) from Raghunathrao Peshwa to Narasingrao Govind the *Jari–paṭkā* is referred to twice. Here the Peshwa assures the addressee that the *Jari-paṭkā* would be presented to him when he has proved his competence for receiving it.

(2) *A. D. 1782* — *In Yādi* No. 13 (p. 79 of *Treaties, Agreements and Sanads*[17] 1914) there is reference to *Jari–paṭkā* lost on the battle-field.

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13. The *Pārijāta* colour is said to be a substitute for Saffron Colour. Sir George Watt (on p. 480 of his *Commercial Products of India*, London, 1908) gives substitutes for Saffron : " Indian Chief Substitutes are : *Carthamus* and *Nyctanthus* " (*Pārijāta*)."

14. Kālidāsa refers to it in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (कल्पद्रुमाणामिव पारिजात: — VI, 6). It was one of the five trees of Paradise (said to have been produced at the churning of the ocean and come into the possession of Indra from whom it was wrested by Kṛṣṇa and planted in the garden of his beloved Satyabhāmā.

15. The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. XVIII, pt. ii, pp. 225-6) records the tradition about the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* current in the Mahārāṣṭra:—" He (Shivāji) chose the celebrated Rāmdās Svāmi as his spiritual guide and aspired to a high character for sanctity. He is even said to have offered all his territories to Rāmdās Svāmi. The Svāmi had no need of lands but asked Shivāji to use the colour of his clothes in the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā or Saffron Banner*. "

16. Vide p. 66 of Tṛtiya – *Sammelan–Vṛtta* (1916), B. I. S. Mandal, Poona — Papers of the Bondhie family, ed. by B. V. Bhat — " अंगरेजास विलायतचा हुकुम आला म्हणवे मसलत सुरु होईल तुम्ही जरिपटक्या विषई अर्जे सांगोन पाठविलात त्यास पंढरपुरपावेतो मुलकाचा बंदोबस्त करोन चाकरी वजाऊन दासविशें फितुरीयाचा फौज तुम्हावर आल्यास तारात्र करणे म्हणजे तुम्हास जरिपटका सरकारातुन बहालच केला जाईल ". Cf. Surendranath Sen : *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), p. 630— (Reward for Military Services):—" *Afagir* was conferred by Shivāji on his generals and officers of lesser rank as early as the seventeenth century. Similary the honour of carrying *Jari Paṭkā*, the golden standard conferred on distinguished Maratha generals, was also quite in accord with the Mughal custom. "

17. Published by Vad and Parasnis. — page 79.

" हुची जरीपटके हुजूरचे नेले आहेत ते हुजूर पाठवावे कलम !
लढाईत गेले त्याचा ठिकाण नाही । "

This document is dated ' इसने समानीन मया व अलफ ' (= *A.D.* 1782).

A clause in this agreement provides for the restoration of this *Jari-paṭka* but the opposite party is unable to restore it as it was lost on the battle-field and could not be traced.

(3) *c. A.D.* 1770 — In the *Keḷadinṛpavijaya*[18] of Lingaṇa Kavi the following flags are mentioned:—

(i) *Yellow flag* — Symbol of the Patshahas of Bhāgānagar.
(ii) — Do — Nizam Patshah.
(iii) *Red flag* — Barid Patshah (of Bedar).
(iv) " उपरण्याचें निशाण "— Hasan Gangū Bommaṇṇa Patshah.

(4) *A. D.* 1673 — Jayarāma Kavi in the *Parṇālaparvatagrahaṇākhyāna*[19] or the story of the capture of the Panhāḷā fort near Kolhapur describes Shivāji's visit to the temple of the goddess Bhavānī on the Pratapgad (Ch. IV, 24). This temple was adorned with flags (पताकाभिः अलंकृतम्). This poem describes the visit[20] of Shivāji to Rāmdās Svāmi but it does not refer to the current tradition about the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* viz. that Rāmdās Svāmi asked Shivāji to use the colour of his clothes for his banner.

Kavīndra Paramānanda who composed his *Śivabhārata* by order of Shivāji between A.D. 1661 and 1674 informs us that at the age of 12 Shivāji was despatched by his father Shahāji to take charge of the province of Poona (X, 23 — पुण्यदेशाधिपत्येन शाहः शिवमयोजयत्). At this time

18. *Śivacaritra-vṛttasaṃgraha*, P. B. Desai, B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1938 (Kānaḍī Vibhāga, Khaṇḍa I).

19. Ed. by S. M. Divekar with Marāthī Translation, B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1923, p. 28.

20. *Ibid.*, ch. IV, vv. 16–20:—

" ततः पौलस्त्यनगरे परमानन्दनन्दितैः ।
रसैस्तु पञ्चदशभिः कवीन्द्रैर्वर्णितैर्द्विजैः ॥ १६ ॥
गीयमानं यशः स्वीयं श्रुत्वा श्रुत्वा शनैः शनैः ।
नरयानादवातीर्य चतुःशालं मनोरमम् ॥ १७ ॥
मन्दिराभ्यं समासाद्य एक एवाग्रगोऽभवत् ।
गोस्वामिचरणद्वंद्वं नन्दयामास मन्दिरे ॥ १८ ॥
गोस्वामी च ततस्तस्य हस्तं विन्यस्य मस्तके ।
पूर्णसाम्राज्यदात्रीभिराशीर्भिः पर्यतोषयत् ॥ १९ ॥
यथोचितानि वस्त्राणि रत्नानि विविधान्यपि ।
विन्यस्याग्रे स नृपतिर्नमस्कृत्य पुनः पुनः ॥ २० ॥
प्रययौ सैनिकैः सार्धं पौरानानन्दयन्छनैः ।"

" Gosvāmī " in the above verses refers to Svāmī Rāmdās.

he was provided with all the paraphernalia[21] of his office including tall flags (ध्वजैः उच्चैः), but we have no means of visualising the colour of these flags.

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21. *Śivabhārata*, ch. X, 25-27 :—

" ततः कतिपयैरेव गजवाजिपदातिभिः ।
मौलैराप्तैरमात्यैश्च ख्यातैरध्यापकैरपि ॥ २५ ॥
विरुदैश्च ध्वजैरुच्चैः कोषेणापि च भूयसा ।
तथा परिजनैरन्यैरनन्यसमकर्मभिः ॥ २६ ॥
समवेतममुं शाहभूपतिश्शोभने दिने ।
प्राहिणोत्पुण्यदेशाय पुण्यकारिणमात्मजम् ॥ २७ ॥ "

Since this article was sent to the press Mr. S. N. Joshi of the Bhārata I. S. Mandal, Poona, has published a note on the Management of Rāyagaḍh fort in later Peshwa times (pp. 155-200 of *B.I.S.M. Quarterly*, XX, No. 3—January 1940). In this paper Mr. Joshi gives details of the dead-stock on the fort at the beginning of *A.D. 1773* and the expenditure incurred on the upkeep of the guns, the *royal throne*, the outposts, piquets, guards, buildings, office establishment, patroling, *national flag*, holiday functions, worship of the deities, the contigents of soldiers etc. during the period 1773-1815 *A.D.*

The entry about the national flag (niśāṇa) is found on p. 189 in a list of *A.D.* 1813. It shows the expenditure on " *Joṭ* " cloth and " *Kāv geru* " and oil for painting the flag. In the Śivakāvya composed in A.D. 1821 by Puruṣottama the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* is called " *Gairikākta paṭa* " or cloth besmeared with red-chalk (*Gairika*) colour. This *Gairika* is identical with " *Kāv geru* " colour mentioned above. Puruṣottama (born *A.D.* 1756 and died 1856) describes the meeting of Rāmadāsa and Shivaji and Rāmadāsa's giving the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* or " *gairikākta paṭa* " to Shivaji :—

" गैरिकाक्तपटाढ्यं ध्वजं दत्तं प्रगृह्य सः ।
यं यं देशं ययौ राजा स स देशो वशोऽभवत् ॥ २३ ॥ "

(The *Śiva-kāvya* is published by K. N. Sane and J. B. Modak in *Kāvyetihāsasaṃgraha* — 1884-87. A MS of this *kāvya* is in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute — No. 81 *of* 1907-1915).

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9. The Bhagvā Zeṇḍā Of The Marāṭhas*

Between A. D. 1685 and 1815

In my paper[1] on the "*Pārijātā-dhvaja* of the *Marāṭha* King *Sambhāji*" I recorded the following references to the *Marāṭhā* banner:—

(1) *A. D. 1685* - Hari Kavi Court-poet of King *Sambhāji*, the son of *Shivāji* the Great, refers to *Sambhāji's* banner as "पारिजातध्वज" in two verses of his *Śambhurāja-Carita*.

(2) *A. D. 1776* – Reference to "जरिपटका" in a letter dated *Śaka* 1698. The *Jaripaṭkā* was conferred as a mark of honour on the *Marāṭhā* generals.

(3) *A. D. 1782* – Reference to जरिपटका lost on the battle field. A clause providing for the restoration of *Jaripaṭkā* found in an agreement between two parties.

(4) *c. A. D. 1770* – References in *Keḷadinṛpavijaya* of *Liṅgaṇa* Kavi to the *yellow* flags of the *Pātshahas* of *Bhāgānagar* and Nizam Shah and *red* flag of Barid *Pātshah* (of Bedar).

I tried to prove that the पारिजातध्वज mentioned by Hari Kavi was identical with *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* or the orange-coloured flag of the *Marāṭhas* as it is known to-day. This suggestion was accepted by many scholars but in the absence of any other early reference to the *Marāṭhā* banner indicative of its colour I could not effectively clarify the doubts of certain friends as regards the colour of the *Marāṭhā* banner as used by *Sambhāji*.

I propose to record, therefore, some* further evidence regarding the *Bhagvā Zeṇḍā* of the *Marāṭhās*, which clarifies the meaning of the term "पारिजातध्वज" used by Hari Kavi in A. D. 1685. This evidence is as follows:—

A. D. 1739 – In the accounts of Shahu Chhatrapati, the Son of *Sambhāji* published in the *Peshwa Daftar Selec-*

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* *Journal of S. M. Library* (Tanjore), Vol. III, pp. 1-8

1. Vide *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVI (1940), pp. 40—47.

tions by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, we find some accounts pertaining to the Campaign of Bassein of A. D. 1739.[2] In these accounts the entry for *22nd May 1739* mentions the expense for hoisting the flag of victory after the conquest of Bassein. This expense includes the following items:—

Rs. 27-6-9- Materials for worship etc., 2-5-0- cloth for preparing the flag (*Zeṇḍā*) and dying it by the use of *gerū* and *oil* as specified below:—

2-0-0 *gerū* = weight 5 sers.
0-5-0 *oil* = weight 1 ser.

2-5-0

It appears from the above entries that 10 pieces of *Khādi* cloth were purchased and dyed in the colour prepared by mixing *gerū* and oil so that the colour may be fast and deep. As गेरू (Sans. गैरिक) means red chalk or ochre the colour produced by its mixture with oil is the celebrated *Bhagavā* colour, which is used by the *Sanyāsis* for their clothes. Evidently the association of this colour with *Sanyāsis* later gave currency to the story about the presentation of *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* by Saint *Rāmdās* to *Shivājī* the Great. Whatever be the truth of this story the fact remains that the *Marāṭhā* flag described as "पारिजात ध्वज" in A. D. *1685* is identical with the 'भगवा झेंडा' hoisted up as a flag of victory after the memorable Bassein Campaign of A. D. *1739*. It is also identical with the "गैरिकाक्त पट" supposed to have been given to *Shivāji* the Great as described later in A. D. 1821 by *Puruṣottama Kavi* in his *Śivakāvya* in the following verse:—

'गैरिकाक्तपटाच्छन्नं ध्वजं दत्तं प्रगृह्य सः ।
यं यं देशं ययौ राजा स स देशो वशोऽभवत् ॥'
॥ 23 ॥

In a list[3] of A.D. *1818* we find

2. *Peshwa Daftar* Selection No. 30—*Miscellaneous Papers of Shahu and his First Two Peshwas* 1933, p. 257.

22-5-1939- "वसई फते जालियावरी निशाण चढले त्यास खर्च रु ॥
२७।≈॥। छ २५ र॥ पुजेस सामान वगैरे
२।– छ १० गो झेंडा करावयासी खाया १०
खाया रंगाई बद्दल खर्च
२ गेरू वजन पक्के ८८५
।÷ तेल वजन पक्के ८८१
२।÷॥"

3. Vide p. 189 of *B. I. S. M. Quarterly*, Poona, XX (1940) No. 3, Mr. S. N. Joshi's note on the management of the *Rayagad* fort.

the method of preparing *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* repeated, as in this list the articles used for such preparation are (i) "*jot*" cloth, (2) "*Kāv geru*" and (3) *oil*. It is clear, therefore, that the method of preparing the national flag in the 17th and 18th century remained unaltered and continued even in the 19th century. In view of this continuity it may be reasonable to identify the पारिजातध्वज of *Sambhāji* with the भगवा झेंडा of Shahu hoisted at Bassein in A. D. 1739.

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10. The Indian Bullock-Cart : its Pre-Historic and Vedic Ancestors *

Mr. W. L. Murrell, Superintending Engineer, Bihar, in his paper on "*Roads in India and Australia– Our difficulties and some suggestions*," presented before the last Roads Congress Session makes the following remarks [1] about the Indian Bullock-Cart :–

" Even greater than the difficulty of funds is the intolerable dictatorship of the steel tyre of the *Indian Bullock-Cart*. This survivor of the Dark Ages in India is chiefly responsible for the complete stagnation of the development of our road technique and it is the steel tyre [2] that (if allowed to persist) will throttle the development of Agriculture, education and whatever goes to make a nation great." Leaving engineers to settle the question of betterment of Indian roads by means of their road technique and the replacement of steel tyres by pneumatic rubber tyres, I shall record here some information about the bullock-cart in India and its antiquity in the light of literary and archaeological evidence.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* [3] which has some remarks about the *Primitive Vehicle* " the earliest type of vehicle was the sledge, having no wheels and mounted on runners. From the sledge was evolved the rude cart with wheels made of wooden discs used for agricultural and other purposes for many centuries with few modifications. Such carts are still to be seen in Spain, Portugal and Mexico drawn by a pair of yoked oxen." We are further told that the requirements of war [4] and hunting had a marked effect on the general design of the vehicle. About 1500 B. C. we find the Egyptian[5] two-wheeled chariot in a high state of perfec-

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* The *Poona Orientalist* Vol. V, Nos. 2-3 pp. 144-151.

1. Vide p. VI of *New Review* (Calcutta) August 1940 where these remarks are quoted.

2. I have not examined the possibility of Ancient Carts or Chariots, possessing *steel tyres* which now characterise the bullock-carts. If the existence of these tyres is proved by archaeological and literary evidence Mr. Murrell's criticism about them would be justified. It appears to me that the ancient chariot in India, Egypt etc. was entirely at the mercy of bad roads and hence the Vedic poet invoked the aid of the Gods *Indra* and *Vanaspati* in the *Ṛgveda*, III, 53 (18-20). We must first prove that the steel tyre of the Indian bullock-cart of the present day is really a survivor of the so-called " Dark Ages in India " referred to by Mr. Murrell.

3. Fourteenth Edition (Vol. IV) 1929, Page 928—article on *Carriage*. See also article on Cart (p. 935).

4. Compare the Epic war-chariot to which I have referred at the end of this paper.

5. Vide *Egyptian Wall Paintings of the Tombs and Palaces of the XVIII and XIX Dynasties* (1600-1200 B. C.) by Ambrose Lansing, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,—New york. 1930.

(*Continued on next page*)

tion while the chariots of Assyrians, Greeks and Romans were the first carriages known to us.

In the above remarks about the earliest type of vehicle no reference is found to the evolution of the Indian bullock-cart from remote antiquity. Whether the theory of the evolution of the rude cart with wheels of wooden discs from the sledge is applicable to the Indian bullock-cart or not, is also a matter for investigation by experts in the field of ancient Indian history and civilization. In view, however, of the present popular interest in bullocks and their breeding for the betterment of Indian Agriculture it is our duty to collect all possible information about the different types of bulls [1] known to ancient India from literary and archaeological sources. We must also reconstruct from fragmentary data the history of the Indian bullock-cart which had so much to do with Indian Agriculture from the remotest antiquity.

Page 15—The Tomb of Ken-Amūn (No. 93) about 1450 B.C.— Nos. 37, 48 —New year's Gifts scene " The Chariot is interesting for its inscription " *The Chariot of his majesty, 'The Syrian by name'. Its wood was brought from To-nūter in the country of Noharin.* " The Chariot was a novelty in Egypt and the Egyptians still made it of wood imported from Asia. A bow, a mace, and a poniard, a coat of scale armor, and elaborately decorated quivers were included among the gifts. "

The Tomb of User-Het (No. 56) — about 1420 B.C.

51. *Hunting from a Chariot.* Egypt had not known horses or Chariots until the invasions of Hyksos and their early use by Egyptians was naturally in war. Here, however, *User-Het* has gone out hunting in his Chariot and is creating havoc among the desert animals. The scene is unfinished, as may be seen not only by the omission of details but also by the blank columns where the inscription should be.

The Tomb of Huy (No. 40—about 1356 B. C.—No. 103—" Furniture, shields and a Chariot. "

1. Vide p. 28 of *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* by Sir John Marshall, Vol. I, London, 1931—" From the abundant remains of the humped Indian bulls met with in every stratum of the site (most of them, be it said, of young animals) it is evident that the Indus valley must have been specially rich in this fine breed of cattle, which was closely allied to, if not identical with the magnificent white and grey breed still common in Sind, Northern Gujarat and Rajputana, but wholly different from the small humped cattle of Central India and the Dekkan. To what a pitch these magnificent creatures had been bred at this remote period may be gauged from the life-like engravings of them on seals 329-40 one of which is reproduced on the front cover of this volume. — Besides the great humped cattle there was also a smaller short-horned and humpless species which is not infrequently represented among the terra-cotas of this period, both in the Indus valley and Baluchistan but of which no actual bones or horns have yet been identified. "

In *foot note* 1, Marshall states that the humped bull must have been common at this time in Baluchistan and appears to have been known in West Persia and Mesopotamia (Cf. Ch. XVIII, p. 347) but whether the breed in these countries was the same as in Sind it is not possible to determine. He rejects Colonel Sewell's suggestion that these humped cattle were posterior to the sheep and buffalo as the seals and other objects depicting these animals are found indiscriminately at all levels.

As the Mohenjo-daro Civilization is pre-historic and as it is the oldest known civilization of all civilizations that were nurtured by the Indian peninsula, its evidence regarding the bullock-cart must be treated with some deference in all investigation about the antiquity of the Indian bullock-cart. Fortunately for us the clay-models of toys discovered at Mohenjo-daro include clay-models of carts also along with those of other toys in which birds etc. are represented. The remarks[1] of Sir John Marshall regarding these clay-models of toys and in particular about the toy-carts are as follows: — " Birds might be mounted on wheels and oxen might be yoked to toy-carts (Plate CLIII, No. 24). These little toy-carts are particularly interesting as being amongst the earliest representations of wheeled vehicles known to us, approximately contemporary, that is to say, with the Chariot[2] depicted on a stone slab at Ur (*about 3200 B. C.* according to Mr. Wooley) and the model of a wagon from Anau (See infra Chap. XXVII, pp. 554–5)."

" The toy-carts from Mohenjo-daro are all of terra-cota and for the most part of the type shown by Mr. Mackay on Plate CLIV where they are compared with the modern farm-carts of Sind. There is a specimen however, from Harappā made of copper which seems as if it might rather have resembled the present-day *ekka*. No doubt many other children's toys were made of less durable materials than terra-cota and have perished in the course of ages."

The *Copper-cart* referred to Marshall in the above remarks is described[3] as follows :—

" Among other objects found a peculiar interest attaches to a very fragmentary *two-wheeled miniature copper-cart* (Plate XXIII d). The *axle, wheels*, and *the animal*[4] which were originally attached to it are mis-

1. Vide p. 39 of *Mohenjo-daro etc.*, Vol. I, 1931.

2. Cf. a sculptured relief of an Assyrian *War-Chariot* of about 650 B. C. in the Louvre (p. 56 of Oxford *History of the World* by Davies, 1937). This Chariot has two wheels (with axle and spokes) and an open box in which we find four men, one of which is the driver holding the reins of the horse yoked to the Chariot. By the side of the driver we find a man shooting an arrow from the bow in his hand. The remaining two men are shown with shields of a circular type in their hands. *On p. 160* we find a photo of an Etruscan Chariot which is bronze-work (in the Metropolitan Museum, New York). This Chariot also has two wheels with axle and spokes, and a long pole with yoke, the two ends of which are curved downwards to fit the necks of animals to be yoked to it. The Chariot is occupied by two persons. *On page 184* a picture of a Roman Chariot race from a Roman Mosaic in Britain is given. Here we find four two-wheeled Chariots in motion, each drawn by two horses. These races were very popular in ancient Rome.

3. Vide p. 100 of the *Report of the Arch. Survey of India for* 1926–27 — Exploration at Harappa.

4. Was this animal a *bullock* or a *horse* ?

sing. The cart is open, front and back, provided with shafts and relieved on the gabled roof and sidewalls with lozenge and cross-shaped patterns. The driver is seated in front on a raised seat."

The foregoing description about the two-wheeled carts represented by a clay-model and a miniature copper-model found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā respectively establish beyond challenge the existence of two-wheeled vehicles in these two regions in pre-historic times. Whether these two-wheeled vehicles were evolved from sledges in earlier on Indian soil as suggested by the writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* with respect to European civilization we cannot say at present.

Let us now record some evidence regarding the *two-wheeled vehicle* from some literary sources connected with the Aryan Civilization. In the *Ṛgveda*, the earliest record of the Aryan race, there are numerous references to *bulls*, *cows*, *buffaloes* as also to *cars* and *chariots*.[1] The best reference for our present purpose is furnished by *Sūkta 53* of the Third *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*. This *Sūkta* or hymn contains practically a terminology for the different parts of the Chariot and its equipment as follows :—

(1) The *Chariot* is called स्यन्दन.

(2) It was made of the *timber* of the खदिर tree and the शिंशपा tree.

(3) It was a means of travel and hence is called याम.

(4) It was drawn by *two bulls* (गावौ) which are also called by the word अनडुह्.

1. Vide Index to the Translation of the Ṛgveda by Griffith, Vol. I. 1896, pp. 10, 18, 109, 261, 215, 144, 281, 287, 375, 612, 644 and Vol. II, (1897) pp. 228, 303, 351, 360, 368.

See also Mr. G. T. Date's *Art of War in Ancient India* (1929) Chapter V on War Animals and War Vehicles, (pp. 43-51), Mr. Date describes the Chariot of Vedic Aryans with following particulars :—

(1) Two wheels, (2) a rim (pavi), (3) a felly (pradhi), spokes (arā), nave (nābhi). The rim and felly constituted the *nemi*. The hole in the nave was called *Kha* into which the end of the axle was put. Solid wheels were sometimes used. The axle (akṣa) was made of arāṭu wood and the body of the Chariot (*Kośa*) was placed above it. There were seats for warriors (vandhura or garta) Ordinarily there was a pole, one end of which passed through the yoke, the other being attached to the axle. The pole and yoke were tied together. The yoke was placed on the necks of horses. *Raśmi* or *Raśanā* means reins and *Kaśa* denotes a whip. Two horses were commonly used. Sometimes three or more were also employed. A poor man had to be content with one horse which then ran between two poles. The pole was a hundred and eighty eight aṅgulas long, the axle a hundred and four and the yoke, eighty six. Besides horses, asses (*gardabha*) and mules (*aśvatarī*) were also used to draw the Chariot. (See *Vedic Index* by Keith and Macdonell, pp. 201 ff.).

Mr. Date states further that the Epic Chariot did not materially differ form the Vedic Car. He then describes the Epic chariot on p. 47.

(Mr. Date does not refer to the *Spandana* or Chariot drawn by bulls described in Sūkta 53 of *Maṇḍala* III of Ṛgveda. Perhaps the *Horse Chariot* was used as a war-vehicle while the *bullock Chariot* was meant for ordinary travel.)

(5) Its *axle* is called अक्ष.

(6) Its *pole* was called ईषा.

(7) Its *yoke* is termed युग.

(8) Its *fellies* are denoted by the word प्रधि.

(9) Its *yoke-pins* are called पातल्ये which Sāyaṇa explains as " पतनशीले कीलके " because they were liable to slip out.

The Vedic poet, the author of this hymn, invokes god Indra and Vanaspati or the " sovereign of the wood " to keep the Chariot and its parts in good trim so that the traveller may reach his home safely without any mishap on the way.[1]

The detailed information about the Chariot recorded above is found in verses or Ṛks[2] 17, 18, 19 and 20 of Hymn 53 of Maṇḍala III of the Ṛgveda and it gives us a vivid idea of the two-wheeled vehicle current in the Vedic age. References to the Chariot in later[3] Sanskrit literature

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1. The safety of travellers in the Vedic Chariot was of course greater than that now furnished by our motor lorries and aeroplanes and still the men of the Vedic age invoked the gods for their safety in travel. The prayer of modern travellers, if at all they think of safety, is that the driver is not in a drunken state or the pilot has the necessary license for his ability to pilot his passenger-plane safely.

2. I reproduce below the translation of these Ṛks as given by Griffith (p. 375 of Vol. I) :—

" 17. Strong be the pair of *Oxen*, firm the axles, let not the *pole* slip nor the yoke be broken. May Indra keep the *yoke-pins* from decaying ; attend us thou, whose fellies are un-injured.

18. O Indra, give our bodies strength, strength to the bulls who draw the wains. Strength to our seed and progeny that they may live, for thou art he who giveth strength.

19. Enclose thee in the heart of Khayar timber, in the Car wrought of Śiṃśapā put firmness.

Show thyself strong, O Axle, fixed and strengthened, throw us not from the Car whereon we travel.

20. Let not this Sovran of the wood leave us forlorn or injure us,

Safe may we be until we reach our homes, and rest us and unyoke. "

We can imagine from the above description of a Chariot in motion the mental condition of persons travelling in it. The experience of those Vedic users of this bullock-chariot without springs or spring-cushions must have been practically the same as we get while travelling in a bullock-cart to villages not so much on P. W. D. roads as on Local Board roads. We now invoke the aid of the Engineers at *Indraprastha* (Delhi) to provide a pattern of the bullock-chariot which would ensure ease and comfort to the Indian villager.

3. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* which was composed before Buddha and Pāṇini (Winternitz : *History of Indian Literature* I, p. 236) refers to शकट or Car :—

" सोऽधस्तात् शकटस्य पामानं कषमाणम् etc. "

(p. 184 of Anandashram Series No. 14 of 1890) छां. उ. — IV. 1. 8. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali contains numerous references to शकट (शकट, शकटसार्थं, शकटि, शकटिन् , शकटिबन्धु, शाकटि — Vide p. 1009 of Index to *Mahābhāṣya*, B. O. R. Institute, Poona).

are too numerous to be recorded in this paper, which is confined to the Indian *bullock-cart* in its earliest form. In the Buddhist literature as also in the early Jain literature there are plenty of references to the vehicles which are worth studying with a view to see what types of vehicles and their equipment were in vogue in the post-Vedic period upto the beginning of the Christian era.

Mr. G. T. Date [1] refers to the oldest Indian war-car as represented in the paintings of a Sumerian King [2] who reigned in 1495 B. C. He observes that this chariot [3] closely resembles the two-wheeled car found in the Sanchi bas-reliefs drawn by two horses. On the railing of the Barhut [4] *Stūpa* also we find a four-horse Chariot. These are representations of cars drawn by horses and not by bullocks and hence do not enable us to visualise clearly the pattern of the ancient bullock-cart as such which may have been current in those days and used for agricultural purposes. [5]

The use of chariots in the Mahābhārata was very common. These chariots consisted of two wheels only (" द्वावश्विनौ द्वे रथस्यापि चक्रे " — *Vanaparvan*). Vide page 510 to 524 of महाभारताचा उपसंहार by C. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1922, on p. 518. Mr. Vaidya gives description of Rathas (रथवर्णन) some points from which I note below :—

(1) The Epic Chariot was drawn by four horses.

(2) The Chariot as well as the horses were well decorated.

(3) The Chariot had a top (resembling a temple dome) which held a fluttering flag bearing characteristic colour and symbol of each warrior.

(4) The Chariot had a big drum on it. Some Chariots had two mṛdaṅgas which produced sound when the chariot was in motion.

This is a typical war Chariot and it presents a vivid contrast to the Vedic bullock-drawn cart or Chariot referred to in Ṛgveda, I, 53 (19-20).

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5. This study of the Indian bullock-cart and allied vehicles is by no means exhaustive. I have supplied a short summary of it to the Agricultural Engineer to the Government of Bombay in response to an inquiry from him in this matter in August 1940. I trust, however it would be of some use to laymen, if not to the experts in the field of ancient Indian Culture and Civilization.

11. Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period And in Ancient China in 1121 B. C.*

In the *Vedic Index*[1] by Keith and Macdonell we get the following information about the Chariot (*ratha*) of Vedic Aryans :-

(1) *Ratha* meant in the *Ṛgveda* and later a 'chariot' as opposed to *anas* (cart) though the distinction is not absolute. Of differences in the structure of the two we have no information, except that the *Kha* (nave hole) in the wheel of the chariot was greater than in that of the cart.

(2) As a rule the chariot had *two wheels (cakra)*.

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(8) Sometimes a solid wheel was used.

(9) The axle (*akṣa*) was in some cases made of (*araṭu*) wood, and round its ends the wheel revolved.

(10) The axle was attached to the body of the chariot (*kośa*,), which was also called *Vandhura* meaning the " seat " of the chariot.

(11) The chariot of the Aśvins is called " *tri-vandhura* " and " *tri-cakra* " i. e. a chariot with three seats and three wheels. Zimmer, however, considers such a chariot as purely mythical.

(12) *Garta* denoted the seat of the warrior.

(13) The pole of the chariot (*īṣā*, *prauga*) was at right angles to the axle. Normally there was one pole on either side of which the horses were harnessed.

(14) A yoke (*yuga*) was laid across the necks of the horses. The pole was passed through the hole in the yoke (*kha* or *tardman*) and the yoke and the pole were tied together.

(15) The horses were tied by the neck (*grīvā*) where the yoke was placed and also at the shoulder, presumably by traces fastened to a bar of wood at right angles to the pole, or fastened to the ends of the pole,

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if that is to be regarded as of triangular shape, wide at the foot and coming to a point at the tip.

(16) The words *raśmi* and *raśanā* seem to denote "traces." They may also denote the "reins" which were fastened to the bit (perhaps *śiprā*) in the horse's mouth.

(17) The driver controlled the horses by reins and urged them on with a whip (*kaśā*).

(18) The girths of the horse were called *kakṣyā*.

(19) Normally *two* horses were yoked to the chariot but *three* or *four* were also frequently used for this purpose. It is not certain whether the extra horse was attached in front or at the side. Perhaps both modes were in use. Even *five* steeds were employed.

(20) *Horses* were normally used for *chariots*. Sometimes asses (*gardabha*) or mules (*aśvatarī*) were also used.

(21) The ox was employed for drawing carts and in fact derived its name "*anaḍvāha*" from this use. Sometimes a poor man had to be content with a single steed which then ran between too shafts.

(22) In the chariot the driver stood on the right while the warrior was on the left, as indicated by his name *Savyeṣṭha* or *Savyeṣṭhā* (The Greek notices speak of two warriors and a charioteer). He could also sit when he wanted for the chariot had seats and an archer would naturally prefer to sit while shooting his arrows.

(23) The dimensions of the chariot are given in the *Śulba Sūtra* of Āpastamba at 188 *aṅgulis* (finger-breadths) for the *pole*, 104 for the *axle* and 86 for the *yoke*.

(24) The material used in the construction of the chariot was *wood*, except for the rim of the wheel.[1]

(25) Many other parts of the chariot are mentioned such as *Aṅka*, *Nyaṅka*, *Uddhi*, *Pakṣas Pātalya*, *Bhūrij*, *Rathopastha*, *Rathavāhana* but their names are often obscure in meaning.

(26) The *Vedic Index* further records the following terminology connected with *Ratha* (chariot):–

Rathakāra – Chariot-maker. In the *Atharva-veda* the Rathakāra already forms a caste.

Ratha-gṛṣṭa – Skilled charioteer.

Ratha-cakra – Chariot wheel.

1. The chariot used at a bridal procession was made of Śālmali wood (Rv. X. 85, 20). In Rv. III. 53 the chariot (*syandana*) is said to be made of the timber of *Khadira* tree and the Śiṃśapā tree (vide my paper on "*The Indian Bullock-cart: Its Vedic and Pre-historic Ancestors*" in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 144–151).

Ratha-carṣaṇa – perhaps means 'pathway of the chariot.'

Ratha-jūti – "driving swiftly in a chariot" or a proper name.

Ratha-nābhi – nave of the chariot wheel.

Ratha-mukha – fore-part of a chariot.

Ratha-vāhana – A movable stand to hold a chariot. The Greeks had such stand on which the chariot rested when out of use.

Ratha-śīrṣa – The head of the chariot.

Ratha-saṅga – Hostile encounter of chariots.

Rathākṣa – Axle of the chariot.

Rathāhnya – A day's journey by chariot.

Rathin and *Rathī* – One who goes in a chariot (both the driver and warrior).

Rathītara – "good charioteer", name of a teacher.

Ratheṣṭhā – Car-fighter.

Rathopastha – the bottom of the chariot on which the driver and the fighter stand.

The foregoing information about the chariot of the Vedic Āryans shows clearly the wide-spread use of the chariot during the Vedic period, for which the lower limit according to Macdonell is 500 B. C. and the upper limit is "not much earlier than 1200 B. C." The references to chariot-terminology collected in the Vedic Index are very interesting as they show the art of chariot-manufacture in a sufficiently developed condition. One, however, fails to notice in these references any detailed description of the chariot-manufacture as we find in Kauṭilya's chapter on "The Superintendent of Chariots" (chapter XXXIII of Book II, pp. 155–156 of Eng. Trans. of *Arthaśāstra*, 1929). In this chapter Kauṭilya observes :—

"The functions of the Superintendent of horses will explain those of the Superintendent of chariots. The Superintendent of chariots shall attend to the *construction of chariots.* The best chariot shall measure 10 *puruṣas* [1] (= 96 aṅgulas) in height and 12 *puruṣas* in width. After this model, 7 more chariots with width decreasing by one *puruṣa* successively down to a chariot of 6 *puruṣas* in width shall be constructed. He shall also construct chariots of gods (*deva – ratha*) festal chariots (*puṣyaratha*), [2] battle – chariots (*Saṅgrāmika*), travelling chariots (*pāriyāṇika*), chariots used in assailing an enemy's strongholds (*parapurābhiyānika*) and training chariots.

1. Meyer interprets that a chariot shall have space for 10 to 12 men.

2. Chariots used for festive occasions, such as coronation etc. *Commentary.*

He shall also examine the efficiency in the training of troops in shooting arrows, in hurling clubs and cudgels, in wearing mail armour, in equipment, in charioteering, in fighting, seated on a chariot and in controlling chariot horses.

He shall also attend to the accounts of provision and wages paid to those, who are either permanently or temporarily employed (to prepare chariots and other things). Also he shall take steps to maintain the employed contented and happy by adequate reward (*yogyarakṣānusthānam*)[1] and ascertain the distance of roads."

In the foregoing lines we get some idea about the construction of chariots of different types for different purposes, the war-chariots being of course the main object of the care and supervision of a state officer "the superintendent of chariots." Though *Kauṭilya* lays down the measurements of different chariots he does not describe the details of the construction of the different parts of the chariots. One wonders if there existed any treatise on chariot-manufacture prior to Kauṭilya or posterior to him. Had such a treatise been available we would have known more details about chariot-manufacture in ancient India than what we can gather by collecting together stray references to chariots of the Vedic and the post-Vedic period of Indian history. In the absence of such a special treatise, Kauṭilya's remarks quoted above have a special historical significance for the history of chariot-manufacture in Ancient India.

Let us now see the progress of chariot-manufacture made in outside countries synchronously with the Vedic period. In this connection I shall record in this paper some evidence of a Chinese text of *B. C. 1121*, which describes in detail the *manufacture of carriages* as current in China at this time and even before this date. This text is no other than "*The Ceremonial Usages*[2] *of the Chinese, B. C. 1121,*" as prescribed in the "Institutes of the Chow Dynasty Strung as Pearls" or *Chow Le*

1. Some take this to mean "to keep the employed at a safe distance form the intrigues of enemies" —*Commentary*.

2. Translated from the original Chinese, with Notes, by William Raymond Gingell, Interpreter to Her Majesty's Consulate, Foo Chow Foo, London, *1852*. Lin Kow Hwale, the teacher of the Translator has added a Preface to the Translation, from which I note some particulars:—(1) England had commercial intercourse with China from the beginning of the *Ming* dynasty (1643). In *1842* a British Consul was established at the Five Ports. Englishmen were allowed to employ Chinese teachers. Gingell went to China from India in a troopship in *1842* and while at Nanking studied Chinese poetry, writings and literature. The *Preface* was written in *1849*.—The Preface by the compiler, Hoo Peih Seang printed in this translation is dated *1797*. This Preface states that the *Chow le* classic originated in *1108 B. C.*

Kwan Choo" (being an abridgement of the *Chow Le* classic by Hoo Peih Seang, designated Mung Chew). Gingell states that his translation affords "some insight into the forms and usages of the Chinese, who are to the present day but little changed from what they were nearly 3000 years ago. Few would give them credit for so much civilization at this remote period." In view of these remarks about the antiquity of the Chinese classic I was tempted to go through Mr. Gingell's translation, keeping constantly in my mind the state of Indian civilization about 1000 B. C. as disclosed by the Vedic and early post-Vedic literature. Among other things the remarks in this Translation about *chariot-manufacture* or rather *carriage-manufacture* in China 3000 years ago interested me very much in view of my interest in the history of Indian *carriage-manufacture form the Vedic times onwards.* I shall, therefore, record below the information about the Chinese chariots and other vehicles as disclosed by Mr. Gingell's Translation. *Pages 18–26* are devoted to *carriages* and *banners* which "required due distinction" like the "palace dresses and other majestic pomps" of the King.

Page 18 — "The *Kin Keu* had charge of the orders of government as regards the *State Carriage.*"

(1) — *Yu loo* was a "gem-ornamented chariot" used on the occasion of offering sacrifice.

(2) — *Kin loo* carriage was employed on great occasions.

(3) — *Seang loo* chariot was used when going to audiences.

(4) — *Kih loo* carriage bound with leather was used on military occasions.

(5) — *Muh loo* chariot was employed on hunting expeditions.

These were *five equipages of the King.*

(1) — *Chung tee* chariot was used by the queen when she accompanied the King to sacrifice.

(2) — *Yeu tee* carriage was used by the queen when she visited the King.

(3) — *Gan Keu* equipage was made use of when the queen visited the King in court.

Page 19 (4) — *Tee Keu* chariot was used by the queen when she went to pluck the mulberry.

(5) — *Neen* Keu carriage was employed by the queen when she moved within the precincts of the palace.

These were the *five equipages of the queen.*

— *Officers beneath the King* made use of —

(1) *Hea Cheun* — a carriage with various colours and carved.
— *Nobles* used (2) *Hea man* — a carriage painted with various colours but not engraved or carved.
— *High officers* used (3) *Meh Keu* — carriages varnished black and not painted.
— *Sze* made use of (4) *Tseen Keu* — a carriage with no colour excepting the original colour of the wood.
— *People* made use of (5) *Yuh Keu* — a carriage with a box behind for stowing baggage etc.

Thus each carriage had its distinctive uses high or low. *Teen loo* officer was "*inspector of chariots.*" The *Keu poh* looked after attendant coaches attached to the war chariots of different varieties. The *Jung Yew* looked after military weapons and attendants attached to the war-chariots. — The text then mentions several officials with several duties connected with King's chariots.

Page 20 — The most honourable of all was *Tae Yue* "chief charioteer" who was attached to *Yu loo* chariot which was accompanied by a special tune when moving slowly, and by a different tune, when moving rapidly; bells on the trappings of horses and on the carriage keeping due unison and time to the tune played.

The foregoing information about the different types of chariots and their distinctive uses shows the highly developed condition of the chariot-manufacture. The following extract is, however, highly informative. It takes a general survey of the principles of carriage-building as it was carried on 3000 years ago:—

"We now come to notice the *manufacture of the carriages*. The book *Kaou Kung Ke* states that the *yew yu she* (Imperial Title of *Shun*-*2254 B. C.*) esteemed *pottery*.

The *Hea how she* (Imperial title of *Ta Yu-2204 B. C.*) delighted in *handi-craft* and *building*; and the men of the *Yin* dynasty (*1872 B. C.*) esteemed *house-hold furniture*. The men of the *chow* dynasty (*1121 B. C.*) paid particular regard to *carriages*. Hence there was a *multiplicity of workmen* employed in their manufacture. Carriages were in abundance. Taking a general survey of the principles of Carriage-building, it was desirable that the *parts of the wheel* should be solid, firmly joined, and well fitted, and that the *wheel* should be exactly rounded, so that it should be light and firm upon the ground: were it otherwise than solid and well joined, it would not be durable; and were it not accurately rounded it would not

revolve quickly. If the *wheels* were too high, persons would find difficulty in getting into the carriage; and if on the other hand they were too low, the vehicle would weigh and press down upon the horse when ascending a slope. To this end, the *wheels of the war-chariot* (*Jung Keu*) were *six covids six inches* in height; *the "hunting carriage"* (*Teen Keu*), *six covids three inches* and the wheels of the *carriage in common use* were *six covids six inches.* Those wheels which were *six covids six inches* in height had the *nave* or perforation for the *axle* three *covids* three inches high and the *flat bottom* of the body of the carriage with its two *Leang puh* (=two pieces of wood on either side, which supported the body of the carriage and under which the axle lay) placed on the top thereof, formed altogether a height of four *covids* [1] from the ground. The men were in stature eight covids [2] and the steps for getting up and down required to be in due proportion. The *Lun jin* made the wheels, and the *To hue* prepared the three materials (for the wheel), a proper season being fixed for the preparation of each. The *nave* (*Kuh*) was required to revolve quickly, the *spokes* to be straight and firm and the *outer band of the wheel* well braced and durable. On looking at the *wheel* a little distance off, it was desirable that it should revolve gracefully and smoothly; and when looking at it close, that it should be accurately rounded, and rest lightly on the ground: nothing else was required but that it should be *circular.* The *spokes*, viewed from a short distance should appear *small* and *fine*; and on looking closer, the *ends* should exactly fit the *outer band* of the wheel: nothing else was required but that they should be all *set in evenly,* and be *firm* and *straight.* On looking at the *nave* at a short distance, the *projecting part* of it should appear *convex*, and on close examination its *lining,* or *casing of leather* should be evenly and firmaly bound on, without loose edges: nothing else was required but that it should be suitable for speed. On looking at the *convex side of the spokes* (*Kang*), it was desirable that the *ends which entered the outer band of the wheel* should be correctly adjusted; and on examining the *ends which entered the nave,* that they should be well and regularly set: then, although the *wheel* might be broken, they would not be distorted (or out of place). The rule followed in *cutting the nave* was to mark off exactly the *ying* and *yang* (male and female) principles of wood. If the *nave* of the wheel were too small and long, it caused the *spokes* to be much crowded; and if too large and short,

1. A Covid is supposed to have been somewhat smaller than the one now in use.

2. A Covid is 10 Chinese inches; and 2 covids 6 inches = 1 yard English; so that the stature of the men was upward of 9 feet.

it was unsteady and dangerous. The *nave* was required to be straight in appearance, and the building evenly put on. When *glue* was made use of it was required *thick*; and when *sinews* were applied, they were *twisted many times.* When the wheel was required for travelling *over marshy places*, it was essential that it (the *rim of the wheel*) should be *thin* and *sharp*; and when *for hill* travelling, *flat*. The *compass* was used to determine its *true circle*, and the *square* to ascertain *distortion*. The *wheel* was *suspended* or *balanced* to determine the *straightness of the spokes*; and it was placed in water to observe if it became equally immersed;[1] and *millet-grain* was used *to measure the holes* for *the spokes*, in order that they should be all of one size; the *two wheels* were *weighed by the balance* to ascertain that they were equal.

Hence, to use the *compass*, apply the *square*, mark the *gravity of water*, *suspend measure* and *weigh* was denominated *Kwo Kung*, "*excellent work.*"

The *Keu jin* made the *carriage commonly in use* among the people. The *handle* of the *axe* used was three *covids* long and the *nave* of the wheel was half of the length of this, or one-sixth. The *spokes* were one *Ko* "axe-handle", and a half in length or four covids five inches.

These were the established *rules* for the *large carriage* or *cart*. When this vehicle was required for travelling over marshy ground, the *nave* was made short, and when over hilly ground, long. For travelling over marshy places, the outer *circumference* of the wheel was required to be made *of wood* bent outward on itself (the *timber* being cut in half); and for hilly ground it was bent laterally or sideways. The *wheel* was three Ko or *nine covids* in height, the *carriage-box* behind eight *covids*, and the *yuen*, or *shafts* were thrice as long as the wheels were high, or *twenty-seven covids*. This differed from the pole of the small *military carriage*, as the latter was only *fourteen covids four inches long*. The *space between the poles*, or the shafts, was *six covids* and the *yoke* was *six covids* long. This differed from the yoke of the *small carriage*, which was *six covids six inches*.

Now the *large-carriage shafts* were called *yuen* and the *small-carriage pole chow*: the *yoke* of the one (*gih*), differed from the *yoke* of the other (*Hang*); for in the *large carriage*[2] two shafts were used with one ox between them; hence the *gih* was shorter, and the space between the

1. That one part was not heavier than another.

2. The large carriage was drawn by one ox, the *small carriage* by two or more *horses* with a pole between them.

shafts was necessarily more narrow. The *small carriage* (*see cut*) had *one pole* with a *pair of horses* on each side of the pole : hence the *yoke* was required to be long, and the space where they were harnessed broader. Thus the *yoke* of the large-carriage and the *yoke* of the small one, although of similar use were essentially different.

The *Keu jin* made the *boby of the carriage* and the length of the yoke, or bar, were all six covids six inches. The three were alike; hence arose the saying " *of three proportions.* "

These were the established *rules for the small carriages* (hunting coaches and chariots).

Now as regards the fashion of the *vehicles*. The body of the *Tseen Keu* " plain carriages " sloped inwards from the bottom to the top: the body of the *Ship Keu* " ornamented carriage, " sloped outwards from the bottom to top : all that was required to be circular was made so by means of the *compass* : all that was desired to be square was ruled by the square; all that was required upright was tested by the *plummet-line*; and the *yokes* were of equal weight, as determined by their *gravity in water*. The straight portions were like growing sprouts, and the portions joined seemed part and parcel of the whole.

The *chow jin* made the *poles*; the *chow served* the purpose of the *yuen*, or *shafts*; and to this was hooked the *Hang* of the *small carriage* to which the horse was fastened : this was fourteen covids four inches in length. There were three modes of making it ; and the *axle-tree* or piece of cross wood on which the wheels were set (*chuh*) had also three distinct principles on which it was made. The *pole* for the large horse *Kwo ma* was four covids seven inches deep in the curve; that for the *Teen ma* four covids; that for the *Noo ma* three covids three inches. Thus the *pole* was *curved*, but it was desirable that the bend should not be abrupt (like a bent bow).

Now as regards the *shafts* of the *large carriage*. If these were too low, it would have been a difficult matter for the ox to ascend a slope; and if the animal were urged on, it would cause the carriage to upset backwards readily : this would happen from no other cause than that of the shafts being straight without any bend. Hence although the shafts of the *large carriage* might be exactly of a proper height on level ground, yet on ascending a *slope*, if they did not press down upon the ox they would lift the animal up : this would arise from no other cause than that of the shafts being straight and without curve. On coming to a *declevity*, if the shafts were not lifted up from off the beast, the breaching would inevitably

strike against the hind quarters of the ox, from no other reason than that the shafts were straight and without curve. Thus the shafts of the *large carriage* must also have a *curve* in them as being highly necessary. The *pole* of the *small carriage* required to be *firm* and *tough*: were the *curve* of the pole *too deep*, it would readily break; and if too *shallow*, it would press too much upon the horses. If the *pole* was adapted to the horse's backs, the motion of the carriage was equalized, and the vehicle lasted for a long time. When all these points were attended to, the *case of the occupant* is secured. The *pole* was required to be *curved* without angles (uneven points) and the *grain of the wood* to be continuous and unbroken. In front was the *horse*, which had to be considered and behind sat the *man*, who likewise claimed consideration. After a whole day's travel the *attendant* would then be *untired*; the *horse*, although he had passed over a thousand le, would *not be jaded*; and the *clothes* of the *charioteer* would *not* be *rubbed* or *worn*, *even after a whole* year: this from *all being well adapted*. On requiring the *horse* to put forth his strength in *ascending a hill*, the *pole* would be an *assistance* to him when his strength became exhausted.

The *bottom-board* of the carriage was *square* and in this respect resembled the earth (alluding to the four cardinal points). The covering or *umbrella* above was *circular*, and resembled the heavens. The *spokes* of the wheel were *thirty*, corresponding with the *days of the month*, and the *ribs* of the covering were *twenty-eight* in number, agreeing with the *twenty-eight constellations*. The *Lung Ke* had *nine* pendant *streamers* and resembled the *Ta ho* constellation; the *Neaou yu* bird ensign had seven pendant streamers, and resembled the *Tun ho* constellation; the *Heung Ke* had six pendant streamers, and resembled the *Fa* constellation, *Kwei shay*, tortoise and snake flag, had four pendant streamers and resembled the *ying ship* constellation, and the *Koo sing*, or curved banner, with its bent handle, resembled the *Koo* constellation."

The foregoing long extract amply shows the advanced stage of carriage-manufacture in China in *B. C. 1121*. The mechanics of carriage-building, so graphically described in the above extract has, I believe, no parallel in Sanskrit literature of the Vedic and post-Vedic period though the *Arthaśāstra* makes some approach to this question by enumerating different kinds of chariots and their measurements. In the absence of any such description about the Vedic chariots we cannot understand the mechanics of the vehicles. If the date *1121 B. C.* for the Chinese classic from which we have taken the above extract is correct, we have to observe that the Chinese development of the art and mechanics of carriage-

manufacture had no contact with the development of the Vedic chariot. Scholars tell us that "the *earliest story of Sino-Indian contact*[1] is connected with Emperor *Hiao-Wu* (*140-80 B. C.*) of the early Han Dynasty" and the "starting point of *Sino-Indian intercourse* is generally put at *A. D. 64.*"[2]

In his recent book on "*War in Ancient India*" Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar has recorded some valuable information[3] about *chariots*, from which I note below a few points:—

(1) The chariot was an indispensable instrument of war in the days of the Vedas.

(2) Originally the warrior was his own charioteer.

(3) For the first time the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions a *charioteer* as distinct from the *warrior*.

(4) The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* mentions *chariot-makers* or *rathakāras*.

(5) The *Mahābhārata* mentions *official charioteers* similar to the custom depicted in *Assyria* on the marbles from *Nineveh*.

(6) In the *4th century B.C.* two warriors are seen in each chariot besides the charioteer (This is testified by Megasthenes).

(7) The *Rāmāyaṇa* (*yuddha.* 106, 16-20) lays down *tests* for *ideal charioteer*.

(8) The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* refers to a warrior versed in *eight modes* of fighting from a car.

(9) The *Arthaśāstra* refers to *Rathādhyakṣa* or superintendent of chariots. Six varieties of chariots are mentioned. The chariots were *two-wheeled*, *four-wheeled*[4] and *eight-wheeled*. The officer in charge of the chariots was to maintain *accounts relating to the construction of* chariots and other matters.

(10) *Megasthenes* refers to Indian chariots drawn by *oxen* on the march.

(11) There were chariots drawn by *asses*, *bulls*, *mules* besides those drawn by *horses*.

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1. Vide p. 4 of *Indian Literature in China* by P. K. Mukherji, Calcutta, 1931.

2. Ibid, p. 5.

3. *War in Ancient India* (Macmillan & Co., 1944) pp. 157-166.

4. Vide *Travels of Fa-hsien* (399-414 A. D.) Trans. by H. A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923, p. 47—Fa-hsien describes a *ceremonial car*, *four-wheeled* and of five stories, over 20 feet in height, with silk banners etc., used for the annual procession of images in Magadha (Pāṭaliputra).

(12) Chariots of different types and materials are mentioned.

(13) *Śukra* mentions a chariot of *iron*. The *Harivaṃśa* mentions the *iron car* of Dānava Talā having 8 wheels, axles and poles. It was 2 miles in length and drawn by 1000 mules.

(14) From the time of the *Epics* to the epoch of the *Purāṇas* the art of fighting from chariots had developed a high degree of perfection.

(15) Each chariot was marked by its *ensign* and *banner*.

(16) Besides *flags*, *umbrellas* (*chattra*, *ātapatra*) and *fans* were a part of the paraphernalia of the war-chariot.

(17) The use of war-chariots declined gradually. In Bāṇa's description of Harṣa's army (7th century A. D.) *no chariots* are mentioned. No chariots are mentioned in the Kūram Pallava grant of *650 A. D.* which mentions *elephants*, *horses* and *footmen*.

(18) In the history of the *Coḷa* kings of South India mention is only made of the three divisions of the army but the chariots are not mentioned. This omission indicates that they must have become obsolete by that time.[1]

In the account of chariots given by Prof. Dikshitar no reference is made by him to the Chinese chariots. If chariots had become obsolete about the 7th century A. D. as a regular part of the army we should expect their descriptions in subsequent records as only vehicles for civil use of the King. In fact in Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* (Vol. II, G. O. S.) composed *about A. D. 1130* we find such a chariot mentioned :—

Page 140— " अश्वैश्चतुर्भिर्द्वाभ्यां वा युक्तश्चक्रयुगान्वितः ।
मत्तवारणकैर्मञ्चैश्चित्रितैः परिशोभितः ॥ ५५ ॥
नानावर्णपताकाभिर्भ्राजितः सुदृढाक्षकः ।
उत्तमः स्यन्दनो याने नृपाणामिव निर्मितः ॥ ॥ "

This is a description of the King's vehicle with *two wheels* and drawn by *two* or four horses. This chariot was not a war-chariot but a sort of carriage for ceremonial and other uses.

In the राजव्यवहारकोश composed by Raghunātha Pant Haṇmante about A. D. 1676-77 under the orders of the Maratha King Shivaji the Great there is a section called चतुरङ्गवर्ग (Vide p. 155 of शिवचरित्रप्रदीप, ed. by D. V. Apte and S. M. Divekar, Poona, 1925). In this section, while about

1. The *Mānasollāsa* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1939) Vol. II, p. 139, refers to King's vehicles (यान) viz. (1) दोला, (2) सुखासन, (3) हस्ती, (4) करिणी, (5) अश्वतरी, (6) हय, (7) रथ, (8) नौः, (9) प्रवहण.

5 verses deal with terms pertaining to *elephants* and about 33 verses are devoted to the horse-terminology. Only the following three lines are devoted to the रथशाला :-

"रथशाला तु वाहिलीमहाल इति कीर्तितः ।
वहिली स्यात्प्रवहणं वहिल्वानस्तुसारथिः ॥
गाडा शकट इत्युक्तः प्रतोदस्तु दुमणी भवेत् । "

Here the रथ or chariot is included in the चतुरङ्गवर्ग merely as a matter of courtesy. It had ceased its function as a fighting unit of the ancient Indian army but was maintained more for pomp than for use as an organized force as we find it in Kauṭilya's time.

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12. The Antiquity of the Hindoo Nose-Ornament called "Nath"*

Some time ago the Health Officer[1] of the Poona City Municipality suggested in a communication to the press that Hindoo women should cease to wear the nose-ornament called "*nath*" because this custom tends to keep the nose unclean and the ornament becomes a nuisance to the health of the wearer. Some controversy raged in the press as a result of the above suggestion. I had then a mind to examine the whole custom historically without suggesting in the least that Hindu women should discard their nose-ornament of whatever shape or value, because such a suggestion may lead to reaction and we may find a revival of the custom in places where it has ceased to keep its hold either on the grounds of economy or owing to educated indifference to excess of ornament. I could not carry out my intention to record the historical references to the nose-ornament because of the scattered nature of such references and the difficulty of getting exact chronology for them. As, however, a beginning has got to be made in the interest of our sisters, I shall record in this paper the references gathered by me regarding the nose-ornament without prejudice to the desirability of the continuance or otherwise of the custom now in vogue.

The Indian nose-ornament appears to have attracted the attention of foreigners in the 17th and 18th century. Lt. Edward Moor on the Bombay Establishment of the East India Company, who wrote his Narrative[2] of the British co-operation with Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan

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* Annals (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XIX, pp. 312-334.

1. The late Khan Bahadur Dr. Kershaw Dinshaw Khambata, M. B. E., L. M. & S., L. R. C. P. S., who was Health Officer to the Poona-city Municipality for many years. Unfortunately he is now no more as he died on 19-6-1936.

2. *Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment* and of the Maratha Army commanded by Purseram Bhow, during the late confederacy in India against Nawab Tipoo Sultan Bahadur. By Edward Moor, Lieutenant on the Bombay Establishment, London, 1794, Pp. XV + 526. The following particulars about Edward Moor are noted on p. 298 of *Dictionary of Indian Biography* by C. E. Buckland, London, 1906:—"*Moor Edward*—(1771-1848) Major; born 1771. Went out to India in 1782. Reached Madras 1783. Served with the Maratha Army against Tipoo, 1790-91 at Dharwar, Doridrug, Gadjnur: Wrote 1794 an account of the operations; officiated as Q. M. G.: Garrison Store-keeper i. e. Commissary General, at Bombay, 1799-1805: retired in 1805: compiled the military orders and regulations: Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1796: F. R. S. 1806: F. S. A. 1818: original Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he helped to found; member of other learned Societies: Published his *Hindu Pantheon* 1810: Wrote *Hindu Infanticide* 1811; *Oriental Fragments* 1834; and on India in Cyclopaedia: died Feb. 26, 1848"—The *Centenary Review* of the Asi. Soc. of Bengal (1784-1883) Calcutta 1885, p. 162, records E. Moor's paper contributed to *As. Res.* VII, 383 on the Chinchvad Saṃsthāna near Poona.

against Tipoo Sultan between A. D. 1790 and 1792 and who was a minute observer of men and things not to say an accurate and erudite scholar, makes the following observations on *nath* in his chapter on *Historical and Descriptive Particulars of Canara and the Canarese* (Chap. XXI) pp. 288–289: —

"In common with most other sects of Hindoos, the women wear an ornamental ring or jewel in their nose, called in Hindvi *nutt*. A great deal of money is sometimes expended, and a great deal of taste sometimes displayed, in the execution and design of this favourite appendage, which whatever mere Europeans may think, must be allowed a very becoming, and almost irresistible addition to the nose of a pretty face. This ornament is sometimes, but here not very frequently, affixed to the septum of the nose, but it then assumes a different name and form, and we think, loses all its effect, there not being an equal opportunity of displaying either taste or judgment, as in the circular trinket, suspended in the usual style.

Tavernier[1] says, (*Persian Travels*, p. 86) the Arabian women bore the septum only for the admission of the ring. "The Arabian women only bore the separation between the two nostrils, where they wear hollow rings, as well to spare cost as for lightness; for some are so big that you may almost thrust your fist through them. Beyond all this, the more to beautify themselves, they make a round ring around their eyes with a certain sort of blacking; and as well men as women, in the desert, put the same near their eyes to preserve them, as they say from the heat of the Sun."

Hanway (*Travels in Persia*, Vol. I, p. 230) speaks irreverently of the *nutt*, as it is worn by the Persian ladies, but he was too little of an Asiatic to feel its fascinating effects; and from the unpleasant circumstances attending his journeyings in Persia, it would not be surprising if he were so displeased with everything in that quarter, as to speak irreverently of the ladies also."

The foregoing references from the *Travels* of Tavernier and Hanway prove that the custom of boring the septum of the nose and introducing a ring into it is of Arabic origin. In the same way the custom of boring one of the nostrils and introducing the *nuth* into it appears to have been current in Persia as observed by Hanway. From the evidence to be

1. Tavernier began his numerous journeys in the East in 1632-3. Soon afterwards (1643-4) he returned east-wards and reached India by way of Ispahan (Vide p. 62 of *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, British India (1497–1858) Cambridge, 1929].

recorded in this paper it will be apparent that the existence of the *nuth* in India and references to it in literature and representation of it in painting and sculpture are associated with the post-Muslim period of Indian history and consequently the conclusion becomes irresistible that the *nuth* or nose-ring has been imported into India from a foreign source.[1]

In a work published in London in A. D. 1832 on the *Customs of the Moosulmans of India*[2] we find the following references to the nose-ring:—

Page 210— While dealing with the *Mohurrum Fuqueers* "the author states that one of the 47 Fuqueers called "*Khogeer* Shah" (king saddle) goes along repeating a verse somewhat to this effect:—

" In every lane, in every street,
The heaps of sweetmeats rise;
*Nose-jewelled** damsels, not less sweet,
View them with longing eyes"

(* the original expression is "*nuth*-(or *Boolaq*-) lady")

Page 275— The Mahomedans perform certain vows and "in the same manner in the name of renowned individuals they put on their children *nuthnees* etc."

Page xxi *of Appendix*— "Ornaments worn on the nose. The nose has its share in the decoration of the Hindoostanee ladies and bears several

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1. It is a curious coincidence that just when this paper was being drafted Dr. A. S. Altekar's article on "Dress and Ornaments of Hindu Women" (*Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. II, 1938, pp. 399–422) should reach my hands and corroborate my view about the foreign origin of the nose-ring worn by Hindu women. I shall indicate some of Dr. Altekar's statements on the subject:—(1) The nose-ring is a sign of *Saubhāgya* or married bliss, yet in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (23rd chapter) it is not included in the exhaustive list of ornaments of women. (2) Sanskrit poets and dramatists show no acquaintance with the ornament. (3) There is no word in Sanskrit language to denote the ornament. (4) The words *natha*, *nathia*, *nathni* *natthā*, *nathdhag* found in Indian vernaculars are derived from the Prakrit word *natthā*, meaning the nose-string used for controlling an animal. (5) The nose-ring is not found in the Sculptures at Udayagiri, Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, Bodhagaya, Patna in Bihar, Bharhut and Sanchi in Central India, at Mathura in U. P., at Taxila in the Punjab, at Ajanta, Elora, Badami in the Deccan and the Amravati in the Madras Presidency, though these sculptures show a rich variety of women's ornaments. (6) It is clear that the nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole of India during the entire Hindu Period. (7) Hindu sculptures of Puri and Rajputana of the post-Muslim period begin to show the nose-ring for the first time. (8) The nose-ring seems to have been clearly borrowed from the Mahomedans. "It is a mystery how this ornament of foreign origin should have come to be regarded as the most important insignia of *Saubhāgya*." (pp. 420–420 of the *J. B. H. Univ.* Vol. II).

2. *Qanoon-e-Islam* or the custom of the Moosulmans of India by Jaffur Shurreef and G. A. Herklots, London, 1832. The copy available to me for reference has the autograph of "F. Edward Hall."

ornaments. *Nath*—an ornament passed through the left nostril, consists of a piece of gold wire as thick as a small knitting needle, with the usual hook and eye, and furnished at the centre or nearly so, with several garnets, pearls etc. perhaps to the number of seven or more separated by a thin plate of gold, having generally serrated or scolloped edges, and being fixed transversely upon the wire which passes through their centres as well as through the garnets, pearls, etc. The common diameter of the circle of a *nath* is from one inch and a half to two and a half. On the coast of Coromandel a somewhat similar ornament is worn in each year by men of respectability (called *Pogool*)" *Boolaq*—a nassal trinket flat in form etc"

The frontispiece of the above book is a plate showing "*An Indian Woman decked out in her jewels*" which include among others the *Nuth* and *Boolaq*. This plate is dated *September 1832*.

The above references give us a clear idea about the type of nose-ring or *nath* worn by Muslim women about a hundred years ago.

In a work on music called the *Saṃgraha-cūḍāmaṇi* by [1] Govindācārya composed before A. D. 1750 or so we find in the list of *rāgas* the names "*Nāsāmaṇi*" and "*Nāsikābhūṣaṇi*" in the following line:—[2]

"नासिकाभूषणी मेलाकालामणिरताबत"

The term *Nāsāmaṇi* means a nose-jewel and hence the term has been applied to a musical *rāga* by a metaphorical employ of the word.

In the poem called the *Parṇālaparvata-grahaṇākhyāna*[3] or the capture of the Panhala fort near Kolhapur by Shivaji's men there is a des-

1. Adyar Edition, 1938—Vide *Intro* p. xxxiii—the date of composition is recorded as "*not later than the latter part of the 18th century.*"

2. Ibid, p. 148.

3. Edited by, S. M. Divekar. Vide chapter IV, verse 37 which reads as follows:—

"नासामुक्ताफलं यस्या दंतोद्युतिपाटलम् ।
दध्रे शुकास्यसंसक्तपक्वदाडिमबीजताम् ॥ ३७ ॥"

The date of composition of this poem is A. D 1673 according the to Editor.

The *Rājavyavahārakośa* composed by Raghunātha Paṇḍita for the Maratha King Shivaji the Great has the following verse about the नथ:—

(कार्यस्थानवर्ग verse 13)—"नासामणिर्नथोमुक्ताफलंमोतीफुलीतिच ।
नासापुष्प, चाद्रुमणिर्वाळुबाभिधायकः ॥ १३ ॥"

I am thankful to Mr. Y. R. Date, Editor *Maharashtra Śabdakośa* for drawing my attention to this verse.

In a work called *Haṃsavilāsa* by Sri Haṃsamiṭṭhu (G. O. S. Baroda, 1938) born in *Samvat* 1794 (= A. D. 1738) there is a section called "*alaṃkāropacāra* (pp. 225-27) in which we find a reference to the nose-ornament as follows:—

(continued on the next page)

cription of the image of the goddess Bhavānī at Pratapgad in which the goddess is shown as wearing a nose-pearl or *nāsā-muktāphala*. It will thus be seen that in Shivāji's time the *nose-pearl*, which evidently presumes a nose-ring, has entered the sacred precincts of the Hindu goddess Bhavānī, the tutelary deity of Shivāji in spite of the foreign origin of the ornament.

In a Kangra miniature[1] (depicting the adoration of Śiva as 'Destroyer' by Kṛṣṇa, Brahma and other Hindu Gods and ṛṣis) available in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the goddess *Pārvatī* is shown seated holding Kārtikeya. In this picture by a Rajput artist we find a *nose-ring with three or four pearls* in the nose of Pārvatī.

In an illustrated Ms of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[2] from Jodhpur dated A. D. *1648* we find pictures of ladies wearing the *nose-ring with three pearls*. Edward Terry,[3] the chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe who visited India between A. D. *1616-19* gives a very accurate description of male and female costume of the period. He describes the ear and nose-ornaments of Muhammdedan women as follows:—" Round about their ears are holes made for pendants and every woman hath one of her nostrils pierced, that there, when as shee please shee may weare a ring. " In the early Deccani paintings described by Dr. Motichandra the women wear silver rosettes on one side of the hair, ear-rings, necklaces, *nose-rings* (nath) armlets, bangles, and anklets.[4]

From the 17th century we may now go to the 16th century and record a few references to the *nath*. In a Ms[5] of the commentary of the *Kirātārjuniya* by Ekanāthabhaṭṭa copied in *Saṃvat 1639* i. e. A. D. *1583* we find

" स्त्रल्मौक्तिकयुगलोल्लसिताभिः अरुणरत्नचिराभिः नासाभूषाभिः नासिकाः परिष्कृत्य. " The women-disciples of the *guru* are required to present themselves before him in their best attire and ornaments. On p. 274 we find a description of the sportive behaviour of these ladies, one of which is said to be putting her ornaments wrongly on the different parts of her body ("केशपाशे कर्णभूषणं कर्णे नासाभूषा च, घोणायामङ्गुलीयकम् etc. ").

1. Vide *Gaṇeśa* by Alice Getty, Oxford, 1936, Plate 9b and Page 34.

2. Vide M. R. Mujumdar's article on this MS in the *Navacetana* (in Gujarati) June 1939, Calcutta. Some of the illustrations are reproduced in this article. Vide also his *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, Baroda, 1936, Plate C, which contains a picture of Śāntidās and Kapurtāl is shown with a *nath* in her nose. The date of this picture is Saṃvat 1685 = A. D. 1629. Vide p. 215 of the volume.

3 *Early Travels in India* by Edward Terry, pp. 308-309 as quoted by Mr. Motichandra (Vide *Bombay Univ. Journal*, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 118).

4. Ibid, p. 114—Dr. Motichandra's article on " *Three Deccani Paintings on canvas* " in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

5. MS No. 179 of 1879-80 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The date of copy is recorded as *Saṃvat 1639* and *Śaka 1505* = A. D. *1583*.

the picture of the goddess *Sarasvatī* in colours wearing a nose-ring with two or three pearls. In South India in the Travancore State some mural paintings[1] belonging roughly to the *16th century* were discovered some years ago. They have been reproduced by the Archaeological Dept. of the Travancore State in their report for 1934-35. In *Plate 2* we find two figures of women wearing *naths*. In *Plates* 1 and 3 also we notice in each two figures of women wearing *nath*. These mural paintings were discovered on the walls of an old palace in the Travancore State.

Evidence of the existence of *nath* in South India in the 14th century is found in the mural paintings[2] on the walls of the Tiruvāmbādi shrine in the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi temple, Trivandrum belonging to the *14th century* and depicting a music party of women etc. Many of these women wear *nose-rings (with three pearls)* in their left nostrils as is clear from Plate 4 of the Travancore Archaeological Report for 1936-37.

Dr. Altekar observes that there is no word in the Sanskrit language to denote the nose-ornament. This remark is true enough but we find that the deficiency was made good by later Sanskrit writers by adopting the phrases like "*nāsāmauktika*" "*nāsāgramuktāphala,*" "*nāsāmaṇi*" as will be seen from the collection of verses dealing with "*Nāsābhūṣaṇa*" in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*.[3] One of these verses is identical with verse No.

1. Vide *Travancore Archaeological Report* for 1934-35, pp. 5, 6.

2. Vide *Report of Travancore Archaeo. Dept.* for 1936-37, dated 15th February 1938, page 1. Vide Plate 1 facing page 6 depicting the "*relics of mural painting at Tiruvampadi Shrine, Trivandrum*". *Page 6*—These mural painting are considered to belong to the reign of the Travancore King Āditya Varma Sarvāṅganātha (14th century A. D.) who was a great patron of art and letters. The Sanskrit inscription engraved in the shrine records that King Sarvāṅganātha constructed at the town of Syānandūra (Trivandrum) the shrine of Kṛṣṇa, the *gopāla*, a *maṇḍapa* and a *dīpikāgṛha* in the Śaka *year 1296* corresponding to A. D. 1374-75. These newly discovered relics comprise mostly figures of women in different kinds of drapery and wearing many varieties of jewelry among which the *nath* is prominent. In Plate 4, I find about 9 women shown wearing *nose-rings* with pearls.

3. Edited by K. P. Parab, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1886, pp. 485-86.

" (नासाभूषणम्)

(1) नासामौक्तिकमधरे किमधरबिम्बेन विद्रुमं कुरुषे ।
दृष्टया गुञ्जाबीजं शिव शिव भुवस्तदेव हसितेन ॥ १२५ ॥

(2) श्लेष्मागारे वसतिर्बोतास्माकं तदत्र मायात ।
आन्दोलनच्छलादिह निवारयन्तीव मौक्तिकानि विदन् ॥ १२६ ॥

(3) सुधामयोऽपि क्षयरोगशान्त्यै नासाग्रमुक्ताफलकच्छलेन ।
अनङ्गसंजीवनदृष्टिशक्तिर्मुखामृतं ते पिबतीव चन्द्रः ॥ १२७ ॥

(continued on the next page)

3305 quoted in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati[1] composed by Śārṅgadhara son of Dāmodara, grandson of Rāghava and great-grandson of Hammīra Bhūpati

(5) आकाशात्पतितं पुनर्जलनिधौ मध्ये चिरं संस्थितं
पश्चाद्दुःसहदेहरन्ध्रजनितक्लेशान्वितं मौक्तिकम् ।
बाले बालकुरङ्गलोचनयुगे घोरं तपः संचर-
न्नासाभूषणतामुपैति सखि ते बिम्बाधरापेक्षया ॥ १२८ ॥

(6) अस्याः कामनिवासरम्यभवने वक्त्रे विलोक्यादरा-
च्चिक्षिप्येव सुधाकर प्रियतमं भूमीगतं शोभनम् ।
नासामौक्तिककैतवेन रुचिरा ताराऽपि सा रोहिणी
मन्ये तद्विरहासहिष्णुहृदया तत्संनिधिं सेवते ॥ १२९ ॥"

1. From the six verses quoted above I have been able to identify No. 3— "सुधामयोऽपि... चन्द्रः." It is identical with stanza No. 3305 in *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (Peterson's Edition, 1888, Vol. 1-Text) There it is mentioned as "वैद्यनाथस्य." This stanza is, therefore, earlier than the date of the author of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.

In Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* (15th century according to Keith *HSL*, 222) we find the following reference to नासामौक्तिक: —

Stanza 2197 (Peterson's Ed. 1886)—

"आदौ मज्जन-चीरहारतिलकं नेत्राञ्जनं कुण्डले
नासामौक्तिककेशपाशरचना सत्कञ्चुकं नूपुरौ ।
सौगन्ध्यं करकङ्कणं चरणयो रागो रणन्मेखला ।
ताम्बूलं करदर्पणं चतुरता शृङ्गारकाः षोडश ॥"

Stanza 1505—

"अस्याः कुशेशयदृशः शशिशुभ्रशुभ्रं
नासाग्रवर्ति नवमौक्तिकमाचकास्ति ।"

Stanza 1504—

"मुक्ताफले शशिसमस्य मुखस्य तस्या
हेमोर्मिकान्तगतमञ्चति नासिकान्ते ।"

—"पं० बोनकस्य"

Stanza 1506—

"आस्यानतामुपगतोऽस्य इवा चकास्ति
नासाग्रमौक्तिकमिषादमृतस्य बिन्दुः ॥"

— "श्री चक्रस्य"

Stanza 27—

"नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकम्"

The above references have been pointed out by Mr. N. N. Das Gupta in his article on "*Nose-Ornaments in India*" (*Calcutta Review*, May 1937, pp. 142-144). In this article Mr. Das Gupta refutes the view of Mr. N. B. Divatia (JASB, 1923, New Series, XIX, pp. 67-70) that "we find no mention of the nose-ring in Sanskrit literature, lexicons, included".

of Śākambhari country.[1] Śārṅgadhara introduces the stanza with the endorsement "*Vaidyanāthasya*" which indicates that the stanza is a work of Vaidyanātha, a poet of an earlier date. The question now arises what is the date of this Vaidyanātha? Though I cannot answer this question conclusively I can at least push back the lower limit for Vaidyanātha's date from A. D. 1363 to about 1258 A. D. because this very stanza is found quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvali*[2] of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa and there also it is stated to be the work of Vaidyanātha (*Vaidyanāthasya*).[3] Jalhaṇa, son of Lakṣmīdeva was like his father minister of Kṛṣṇa who ascended the throne in A. D. 1247 and to whom the composition of the *Sūktimuktāvali*, also called *Subhāṣitamuktāvali* is ascribed.[4] According to Mr. E. Krishnamacharya, the Editor of the *Sūktimuktāvali*, the work was composed by a physician of the name Bhānu in 1258 A. D. or Śaka 1179[5] for his patron

1. Vide p. 396 of *Krishnamachariar's H. C. S. Literature*, Vide also p. 222 of Keith: *His. of Sanskrit Literature* 1928. This anthology is arranged in 163 sections and contains 4689 stanzas including some by the auti or himself.

2. Ed. by E. Krishnamacharya, *G. O. Series*, No. LXXXII, 1938.

3. Ibid P. 268—

"सुधामयोऽपि क्षयरोगशान्त्यै नासाग्रमुक्ताफलकच्छलेन ।
अनङ्गसंजीवनदृष्टशक्ति मुखामृतं ते पिबतीव चन्द्रः ॥ ७ ॥"
— वैद्यनाथस्य

Other verses ascribed to Vaidyanātha Paṇḍita are:—

Page 111 — Under कुब्जान्योक्त-चम्पकः

" कुन्दे कुण्ठय कौतुकं त्यज रुचिं न्यग्रोधरोपग्रहे
मा यत्नं करवीररोहणविधौ कार्पीस्त्वयौचिते ।
भ्रातः काननपाल चंपकतरुः कुत्राप्यसौ मृग्यतां
यस्यामोदवशात् स्मरप्रियतमा मावन्ति चेतस्त्रियः ॥ २८ ॥"
— वैद्यनाथपण्डितस्य

Page 103 — Under सरः पद्धतिः

" सौवर्णाः कमलाकरप्रशिशिलास्सोपानवद्धक्रमाः
वारि क्षीरसहोदरं तटतरुश्रेणीसुधाः क्षोणयः ।
सर्वं ते रुचिरं सरोवरवरं निन्द्यः कुतोऽयं विधिः
क्रूरग्राहभयाद्व्रयान्ति विमुखाः पान्था निदाघेऽप्यमी ॥ ६ ॥"
— वैद्यनाथपण्डितस्य ।

4. Keith: *His. of San. Literature*, p. 222.

5. Vide p. 12 of Intro. to the *Sūktimuktāvali* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1938). The following verses appearing at the end of this anthology (p. 463) give us the date of the work and some information about the author and his environment:—

(continued on the next page)

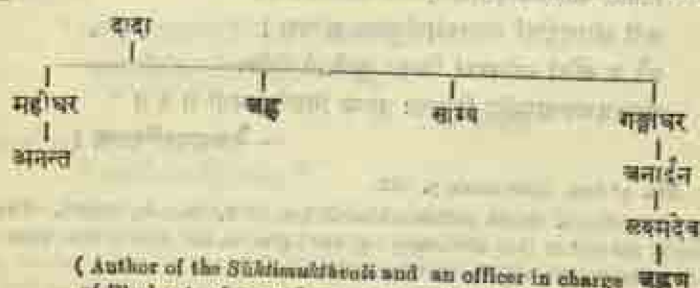
Jalha or Jalhaṇa, whose genealogy and family history are recorded in the first 41 verses of the *Sūktimuktāvali*. [1]

" शाकेऽङ्काद्रीश्वरपरिमिते वत्सरे पिङ्गलाख्ये ।
चैत्रे मासे प्रतिपदि तिथौ वासरे सप्तसप्तेः ।
पृथ्वीं शासत्यतुलमहसा यादवे कृष्णराजे
जह्लस्यार्थे व्यरचि भिषजा भानुना सेयमिष्टा ॥ १ ॥
श्रीकृष्णमहीपसंपदुदधेर्वृद्धौ निशाकारकः
का[व्या]म्भोजविकासतिग्मकिरणश्चाणक्यचातुर्यवान् ।
स्फूर्जत्तर्करहस्यकर्कशमतिः साक्षात्कृतालंकृति-
प्राग्भारो भिषजां वरो विजयते श्रीभास्कराख्यः सुधीः ॥ २ ॥
हरीशयोऽभ्यर्थितस्तपद्धतीनामिदं शतम् ।
श्रीमता भगदत्तेन जह्लणेन व्यरच्यत ॥
श्रीकृष्णीश्वरराजस्य धर्मविच्छिन्नमन्त्रिणः ।
सूक्तिमुक्तावली सेयं कुर्यात्कल्याणसंततिम् ॥ "

The particulars regarding the date of the work as furnished by verse No. 1 above are Śaka 1179, of the name *Piṅgala*, month of *Caitra*, *Pratipadā tithi*, *Saptasapti vāsara* (i. e. Ravi vāsara). These details give us the exact date of the work viz. *Sunday, 18th March 1257* (Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 116). King Kṛṣṇa referred to in verse 2 is identical with Kṛṣṇadeva of Devagiri. Mr. K. A. Padhye (*Life of Hemādri* in Marathi, 1931, page 119) states that Kṛṣṇadeva was contemporary of Cakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva Sect. Mr. Padhye quotes an extract from the Mahānubhāva literature in which a meeting of Kṛṣṇadeva and his brother Mahādevarao with Cakradhara svāmi took place in Śaka 1178 (= A. D. 1256) at Loṇār (Dist. Buldhana in Berar). Mr. Padhye records the following inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadeva's time :—

(1) *A. D. 1249*—Minister Malliśeṭṭi gives a grant to Brahmins on 26-6-1249 (Copper-plate) in Canarese (language).
(2) *A. D. 1249*— Malliśeṭṭi gives a grant on 22-7-1249 (Copper-plate)
(3) *A. D. 1250*— Stone inscription at Kolhapur.
(4) *A. D. 1253*— Copper-plate grant in Sanskrit by Caundarāja, son of minister Bicaṇṇa.
(5) *A. D. 1252*— Copper-plate grant of some lands by Malliśeṭṭi.
(6) *A. D. 1259*— Copper-plate grant in Canarese language.

1. Jalhaṇa is stated to have been an officer in charge of the Elephants (*Karivāhinīpati* or *Karivṛndanātha*) of Kṛṣṇadeva's army. Jalhaṇa's genealogy (verse 3ff) is given as follows :—



It is clear from the above identification in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Vaidyanāha's stanza referred to above that the nose-ornament or *nāsāgra-muktāphala* was an established feature in A. D. 1257, the date of this anthology. This conclusion is further supported by three more verses [1] in this very anthology referring to the nose-ornament, one of which is ascribed to Kṣemendra but the authorship is not supported by all Mss, while another is ascribed to Bhānupaṇḍita, who is identical with Vaidyabhānu, [2] the real author of the *Sūktimuktāvali*. All these four references clearly prove that the nose-ornament consisting of possibly a ring with a pearl (*nāsāgramauktika*) had become an established feature of the decorations of Hindu women about 1250 A. D. as it is referred to in the *Sūktimuktāvali* composed in A. D. 1257 as we have seen above.

The foregoing references to the nose-ornament get independent corroboration from the Mahānubhāva literature. *Līlācaritra*, one of the oldest works of the sect of the Mahānubhāvas which deals with the incidents of the life of Cakradhara the founder of this sect mentions the nose-ornament in the following extract [3] which specifies the dress and ornaments of the goddess Mhāḷsā (= *Mahālasā*) :—

1. *Page 179 (of the Sūktimuktāvali) :—*

" पुण्डरीकमिवाभाति नासावंशाग्रमौक्तिकम् ।
कुचसिंहासनस्थस्य स्मरभूपस्य सुभ्रुवः ॥ १४ ॥ "
— क्षेमेन्द्रस्य (ग. पुस्तके अयं निर्देशः)

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" ललाटे लोलाक्ष्यास्तिलकमिषधारी विधुरयं
स्वमापूर्णं वाञ्छन्नधरसुधया देवहितकृत् ।
अतो नासाग्रेऽसौ तदुपहृतये मौक्तिकमिषात्
स्फुटं दैन्यामालोऽधरशशभृतोरन्तरगतः ॥ १६ ॥ "

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" तस्या वदनचन्द्रस्य कान्तिरन्यैव जायते ।
कलङ्कतुल्ना धत्ते यत्र नासाग्रमौक्तिकम् ॥ २७ ॥ "
— भानुपण्डितस्य

2. Ibid, *Intro.*, p. 61. Verses mentioned as of " Vaidyabhānupaṇḍita " are found on pp. 206, 577, 118, 340, 188, 229, 71, 5, 158, 305, 343, 85, 247, 6, 462, 158, 448, 376, 278, 232, 409, 183, 455, 399, 68, 218, 5, 206, 219, 107, 226, 468, 85, 5, 178.

3. This reference to nose-ornament has been pointed out by my friend Mr. H. N. Nene of Nagpur, the editor of many old Mahānubhāva texts (Vide *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, October 1928?, p. 55). I translate Mr. Nene's remarks regarding the nose-ornament :— " The names of the different ornaments and the pearl on the nose of the goddess should be noted for consideration. We must decide on thorough investigation if women of the time of the Yādava Kings of Devagiri used to wear *naths* or only one pearl. " About the Mahānubhāvas and their literature vide pp. 247–8 of Farquhar's *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920 and pp. 725–779 of the *History of Marathi Literature* by L. R. Pangarkar, Poona, 1935.

" कांकयेः कळाविया सोनयांची सासवडें मंवरिया मांगुः टीव्हा नाकीं मोतीं "

(*Līlā* 172 of *Līlācaritra*)

The expression " नाकीं मोतीं " meaning a *pearl on the nose* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit phrase " नासाग्रमुक्ताफल " and as both these expressions belong to the 13th century it would be reasonable to conclude that the nose-ornament had not only captured the noses of Indian women of the 13th century but that it had entered the sacred precincts of the goddess Mhālsā as well, thus suggesting a greater antiquity for it than is proved by five different 13th century references recorded above.

Earlier testimony regarding the existence in India of the nose-ornament is recorded by Mr. N. N. Dasgupta [1] from a work of the 11th century called the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇa Deśika as follows:—

" As to Sanskrit literature, the *Śāradātilaka* composed by Lakṣmana Deśika in course of delineating an Andhra woman represents her, we are told (*Pravāsī*, 1341 B. S. Kārttika, pp. 109–110) as one with whose breathings oscillates the pendant pearl of her nose-ring (*nāsāṅguri*). Mr. Das Gupta further observes: — In Prof. Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I (Cal. Univ. 1927, p. 604) it (i. e. *Śāradātilaka*) is placed in the 11th century, and if so, it alone is enough to invalidate the theory that nose-ornament was imported in or about the 16th century. "

I have not examined the passage in the *Śāradātilaka* which refers to the nose-ornament according to the writer of an article in the *Pravāsī* referred to by Mr. Das Gupta as this article is not available to me but

1. My friend Prof. N. B. Roy of Mymensing has kindly drawn my attention to Mr. Das Gupta's article on "*Nose-Ornaments in India*"—Calcutta Review, May 1937, pp. 143-144. I have to thank Prof. Roy for this reference. The following points from Mr. Das Gupta's article may be noted here:—(1) Refutation of Mr. N. B. Divatia's view that the nose-ornament is a Muslim importation. (2) Refutation of the article in *Pravāsī* (Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, pp. 663, 716–18) in which an attempt is made on pictorial evidence (not anterior to the 16th century) to prove that the nose-ornament is a non-Hindu institution. (3) Reference to nose-ornament by the author of the *Śāradātilaka* of the 11th century refutes the theory that the ornament was imported by the Muhammedans in or about the 16th century. (4) Reference to *nose-pearl* in Vaidyanātha's verse " *Suddhamayope* etc. " (v. 3305) found in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* of A. D. 1363. (5) Reference to *nose-pearl* in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* which belongs to " *in or before 1159 A. D.* " according to Dr. De and the "*fifteenth century*" according to Peterson and Keith. (6) Baka's verse quoted by Vallabhadeva referring to *nose-pearl* must have been an interpolation as Baka flourished 1417 A. D. (7) No. 27 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* containing a reference to *nose-pearl* is found in the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala assigned to 9th century A. D. (IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 334–42). (8) References to nose-ornament in *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* and the suggestion wrongly made that the latest recension of this purāṇa took place in the 16th century (*Bhāratavarṣa* (1937 B. S., p. 35). Conclusion :— " nose-ornament was known in the Hindu period of Indian history. "

in view of the evidence recorded in this paper the antiquity of the nose-ornament is pushed back on authentic grounds upto A. D. 1200 or so and there is every possibility of its existence in India about 1000 A. D. if not earlier.[1]

Mr. Das Gupta states that verse No. 27 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* which contains a reference to nose-ornament (" नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकं ") is found in the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta of Bilvamaṅgala* alias Līlāśuka who is assigned to the 9th century A. D. Even if Bilvamaṅgala belonged to a period one or two or three centuries later, Mr. Das Gupta observes, the evidence of the above verse and also of those noted by him places it above all doubt that the nose-ornament was known in the Hindu period of Indian history.

The Hindu period of Indian history normally ends with the end of the 10th century when the first raid into Indian territory was made by Sabuktigin. If Bilvamaṅgala belongs to the 9th century the reference to the nose-ornament in the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala as pointed out by Mr. Das Gupta surely supports his statement that this ornament was known in the Hindu period and consequently the theory of Muslim importation gets weakened. Let us, however, examine the genuineness of the verse of Bilvamaṅgala on which Mr. Das Gupta takes his stand and which reads as follows :—

" कस्तूरीतिलकं ललाटफलके वक्षःस्थले कौस्तुभं
नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकं करतले वेणुं करे कङ्कणम् ।
सर्वाङ्गे हरिचन्दनं सुविमलं कण्ठे च मुक्तावली
विप्रस्त्रीपरिवेष्टितो विजयते गोपालचूडामणिः ॥ "

This verse is No. 27 in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* edited by Peterson. Dr. S. K. De has recently published a critical edition of the

1. Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1928, p. 190) observes that the Hindu States enjoyed exemption from *foreign invasion* until almost the *end of the 10th century*. They were not seriously affected by the *Arab conquest of Sind at the beginning of the 8th century* or by the later Muslim occupation of Kabul. The first raid into Indian territory was made by Sabuktigin, the Amir of Ghazni in A. D. 986-7 (A. H. 376). I have at present no references with me to the nose-ornament in India earlier than 1000 A. D.; neither have I any references to it from Persian or Arabic sources earlier than 1000 A. D. which may throw more light on the question of the genesis of the nose-ornament. It is for Arabic and Persian scholars to prove the antiquity of the nose-ornament prior to A. D. 1000 on the strength of references to it in Arabic or Persian literature of the early period (prior to the Arab conquest of Sind at the beginning of the 8th century). If the Arabic origin of the nose-ornament is proved it may enable us to postulate in a stronger manner the theory of foreign importation that now holds the field owing to the absence of references to the nose-ornament in the Hindu literature, architecture, painting etc. prior to the end of the 10th century.

Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta. [1] In the constituted text of the poem, (Bengal recension) the above verse is not found. It appears, however, in the additional verses given in the 2nd and 3rd *Āśvāsas* of Pāpayallaya Sūri's text of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* (South Indian Version). This version also contains an additional reference to *nose-pearl* (p. 317) in the following verse :—

" मौलौ मायूरबर्हं मृगमदतिलकं चारुलालाटपट्टे
कर्णद्वन्द्वे च तालीदलमतिमृदुलं मौक्तिकं नासिकायाम् ।
हारोमन्दारमाला परिमलभरिते कौस्तुभस्योपकण्ठे
पाणौ वेणुश्च यस्य व्रजयुवतियुतः पातु पीताम्बरो नः ॥ ९३ ॥ "

The Bengal tradition originating from the time of Caitanya (1486–1533 A. D.) knows nothing about the two *Āśvāsas* of Pāpayallaya Sūri's text in which the above quoted two verses are found. Pāpayallaya Sūri who refers to Mallinātha (14th century) may have lived considerably after that date. Caitanya who brought the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* from Southern and Western India brought back to Bengal the tradition only of one Śataka of the text and hence Dr. De raises " legitimate doubt regarding the genuineness of the 2nd and 3rd Śatakas of the poem included in Pāpayallaya Sūri's southern version of the text. " [2]

In view of the doubtful character about the chronology of the two verses quoted above it is difficult for us to regard them as conclusive proof of the existence of the nose-ornament in the Hindu period of Indian history. I hope, therefore, that Mr. Das Gupta will give us an incontrovertible proof in support of his contention that the " nose-ornament was known in India in the Hindu period of Indian history. " Though personally, I have an open mind on the question of the Muslim importation of the nose-ornament the uniform absence of authentic references to nose-ornament in literature prior to the end of the 10th century as also the non-representation of this ornament in early sculpture and painting contrasted with the numerous references to it after 1000 A. D. as proved by the present paper has a cumulative force for compelling us to nod our head with the advocates of the theory of foreign importation of the nose-ornament, leaving aside the questions of the exact time when it was imported into India and the exact source from which the importation has taken place.

1. Dacca University Oriental Publications Series No. 5 — *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* with commentaries of Gopālabhaṭṭa, Caitanyadāsa, and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, 1938, p. 319.
2. *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, Intro., p. xiii.

I have recorded above the reference to the nose-ornament (referred to by Mr. N. N. Das Gupta in his article in the *Calcutta Review* May 1937) in the *Śāradātilaka* of the 11th century. As, however, I have not been able to identify this reference I have to record here another reference to the *nose-pearl* found by me in a work of the 11th century. This work is no other than the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*[1] or the life of king Vikramāditya, Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa, composed by Vidyāpati Bilhaṇa in the "*Eighth decade of the eleventh century*" according to Dr. Bühler.[2] This poem gives us a fine description of the *Svayaṃvara* of the Śilāhāra princess Candralekhā or Candaladevī at Karahāṭa or Karhāḍa. Bilhaṇa gives us a minute inventory of the charms of the princess in chapter VIII of the poem. The following verse contains a reference to the *nose-pearl* *nāsāvaṃśa-muktāphala*:—

" नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफलसनाभिना ।
भाति भालतलस्थेन बालचन्दनबिन्दुना ॥ ७१ ॥ "

The expression " नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफल " reminds us of the following verses in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* of A. D. 1257 quoted by me already :—

" पुण्डरीकमिवाभाति नासावंशगमौक्तिकम् । "

It is, therefore, clear that about 1080 A. D. when Bilhaṇa composed his poem the *nose-pearl* had taken possession of Hindu ladies and was sitting tight on the rings in their noses as we must presume a *nose-ring* for a *nose-pearl* to wear on.

A further interesting reference to the *nose-ornament* or "*Nāsā-vibhūṣa*" is found in a work ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya and included in the *Works of Śaṃkarācārya.*[3] The verse in which this reference occurs forms part of the *Tripurasundarīmānasapūjāstotra* and reads as follows :—

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1. Ed. by G. Bühler Bombay, 1875.

2. Ibid. Intro. p. 20 - Bilhaṇa mentions two Kings of Kashmir, Ananta and Kalaśa. "Ananta's succession to the throne falls in the beginning of the year 1028 A. D. and his death in 1080. Kalaśa's rule lasted from A. D. 1080 to 1088 while his coronation and the nominal beginning of his reign fall in 1062." As Bilhaṇa mentions Ananta as "*asit*" Bühler concludes that he was dead when the poem was composed.

Vikramāditya VI, the Cālukya King of Kalyāṇa ruled from A. D. 1076-1127. The date of the *Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita* appears to fall before A. D. 1088 because the work passes in silence the great expedition of the King to the South which then took place. Bilhaṇa also mentions Harṣadeva of Kashmir as prince and not King. We know also from Kalhaṇa (VII. 936-8) that Bilhaṇa lived to hear of Harṣadeva's accession (Keith : *His. of San. Lit.*, p. 153).

3. Ed. by Sri Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam. Vol. I of the Memorial Edition of the works of Śrī Saṃkarācārya, p. 197. I am thankful to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar for drawing my attention to this verse containing a reference to nose-ornament.

" मध्यस्थारुणरत्नकान्तिरुचिरां मुक्तामुगोद्भासितां
दैवाद्गांगवशीचमध्यगरवेळेंद्मीमधः कुर्वतीम् ।
उत्सिक्ताधरबिम्बकान्तिविसरैर्मौमीभवन्मौक्तिकां
मद्दत्तामुररीकुरुष्व गिरिजे नासाविभूषामिमाम् ॥ ४५ ॥ "

The nose-ornament offered to the goddess in this verse appears to be an elaborate one. It consists of a red jewel in the centre surrounded by pearls.[1] Dr. Belvalkar[2] includes the *Tripurasundarīstotra* among 210 *stotras*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya." I think the elaborate character of the nose-ornament referred to in the verse quoted above argues in favour of a late date for the above *stotra* and fully supports Dr. Belvalkar's remarks quoted above. If, however, any scholar can prove beyond challenge that the stotra in question is a genuine work of Śaṃkarācārya we shall have to believe in the view of Mr. N. N. Das Gupta that the nose-ornament was current in the Hindu period of Indian history; but for the present the theory of foreign importation of this ornament appears to hold the field as I have observed already, whatever be the source from which it was imported into India and later spread throughout the length and breadth of the Indian peninsula.[3]

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1. The *nāsā-vibhūṣā* is described as beautiful on account of the red lustre of the jewel in the centre (मध्यस्थारुणरत्नकान्तिरुचिरां) and resplendent with the light of pearls (मुक्तामुगोद्भासितां) which surrounded the jewel in the centre. I am unable to say exactly what is meant by the word मुग in 'मुक्तामुग' as मुग does not appear to be a Sanskrit word. In the Canarese language a nose-ornament is called 'मगुपट्टु' where मगु means 'nose' but it is difficult to connect मगु with मुग in 'मुक्तामुग.' Perhaps मुग may mean a stud or a grain (Marathi मूग or Sanskrit मुद्ग) but this interpretation of the word needs some authority in its support. Whatever be the interpretation of the word मुग, the verse clearly states that the nose-ornament offered to the goddess consisted of a jewel and some pearls. In the early references to the nose-ornament recorded in this paper we have only a pearl but no jewel or *ratna*.

2. *Basu Mallik Lectures*, Part I, Poona, 1929, p. 223.

3. It would be a useful study to collect and record with illustrations the different varieties of the nose-ornament now current in India and compare them with the nose-ornaments current in outside countries. Though such a study would be highly beneficial to the cultural history of Hindu India it would involve considerable expense and trouble in procuring reliable informa-

(continued on the next page)

The *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṃha, one of the earliest Sanskrit lexicons composed before 8th century A. D. gives us a list of ornaments in the *manuṣyavarga*. This list includes such ornaments as *mukuṭa kirīṭa, cūḍāmaṇi, tarala, patrapāśyā, karṇika, kuṇḍala, lambana, Urahsūtrikā hāra* etc., but this list makes no mention of any nose-ornament. This omission is quite significant and we may be justified in presuming that the nose-ornament was not current in the time of Amarasiṃha.

Before concluding this paper I shall show in a tabular statement the antiquity of the nose-ornament from A. D. 1000 onwards as proved in the foregoing paragraphs:—

No.	Date of Reference	Source of Reference	Manner of Reference
1	*about A. D. 1080*	Bilhaṇa	" नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफलं "
2	*Eleventh century*	Lakṣmaṇa Deśika	" *Nās-āṅgurī* "
3	*A. D. 1257*	Jalhaṇa or Bhānu-paṇḍita }	" नासाग्रंशगमौक्तिक " or नासाग्रमौक्तिक "
4	*about A. D. 1250*	*Līlācaritra*	" नाकीं मोती "
5	*A. D. 1363*	*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*	" नासाग्रमुक्ताफल "
6	*15th Century*	Vallabhadeva	" नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकं "
7	*15th Century*	Pāpayallaya Sūri's text of *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*	" मौक्तिकं नासिकायाम् "
8	*14th Century*	Mural Paintings at Tiruvāmbadi shrine, Trivandrum	Picture of a music party of women, wearing nose-rings with pearls

tion with pertinent illustrations. I shall, however, record here some information sent to me from Assam by my friend Dr. B. Kakati of Gauhati. The nose-ornaments, worn at present by Assamese women are (1) *Nakphul* (nose-flower), (2) *Nāk Cāndā* (nose-moon) and *Nalak* or *Nalakh* (nose-lotus). All of these ornaments are made of gold. *Nak phul* is made of fine gold wire, twisted and interwoven and looks like a small lotus bud. With the hook it is fastened into the hole of the nose bored through. *Nāk Cāndā* is made of fine gold wires and similarly put on. *Nalak* has a ring and a pendant and is put on like a *nath*. As Assamese literature does not go beyond the 15th century no literary references are available—so states Dr. Kakati in his letter of *31st October 1938*. It is curious that no pearl is found on these Assamese nose-ornaments.

9	*16th Century*	Mural Paintings in the Old Palace in the Travancore State	Figures of women wearing *nath* are represented in the paintings.
10	*A. D. 1588*	B. O. R. Institute Ms	Picture of goddess Sarasvati wearing a nose-ring with pearls.
11	*A. D. 1611*	*Bhāgavatapurāṇa* Ms at Jodhpur	Pictures of ladies wearing nose-rings with 3 pearls each
12	*A.D. 1616–19*	Edward Terry's *Travels in India*	Terry refers to nostrils pierced and nose-rings worn by ladies
13	*A. D. 1673*	Jayarāma Kavi	" नासामुक्ताफल " worn by the goddess Bhavānī on the Pratāpagad fort
14	*c. A. D. 1750*	*Saṃgraha-cūḍāmaṇi*	Musical *rāgas* called as " नासिकाभूषणी " and " नासामणि "
15	*c. A. D. 1750*	*Haṃsavilāsa* of Haṃsamiṭṭhū	" नासाभूषा " with मौक्तिक-युगल and अरुणरत्न Cf. नासाभूषा with अरुणरत्न and मुक्तायुग mentioned in the *Tripurasundarī-Stotra*
16	*A. D. 1642*	Tavernier	Arabian women bore the septum of the nose for admitting the ring
17	*A. D. 1794*	Edward Moor	" *nutt* " worn by Canarese ladies
18	*A. D. 1832*	*Qanoon-e-Islam*	*Nath*, *Boolaq*, *Nuthnee* " nose-jewelled " damsels, (with illustrations)

P. S.— Since this article was composed the following additional information about the nose-ornament has been received :—

(1) Dr. B. Kakati writes under date 14-12-1938— "Regarding your query about Assamese nose-ornaments as represented in painting and sculpture, a competent Assamese scholar informs me that there is no nose- ornament traceable in existing painting and sculpture. I informed you already there is no reference to it in existing literature which dates from the 16th century. This would perhaps lend weight to your theory that nose-ornaments were introduced by the Moslems. Assam was never a Moslem province."

(2) Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar of the Bhandarkar Institute has kindly drawn my attention to the following verse quoted anonymously by the late Mr. Visnushastri Chiplunkar in his *Nibandhamālā* (Vide p. 51 of the collection of the *Subhāṣitas* in the *Nibandhamālā*, published by Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1926).

" इन्दीवराक्ष्याः स्फुटविद्रुमौष्ठ्याः मङ्कुलमुद्दिश्य वने चरन्त्याः ।
चौराः समस्ताभरणानि हृत्वा नासामणिं नापहरन्ति चित्रम् ॥ १५७ ॥ "

The above verse occurs in the *Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (N. S. Press, 1886) p. 314, verse 84, but here also the name of the author is not recorded.

(3) I am thankful to Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M. A. for the following remarks dated 22-12-1938 on the nose-ornaments in South India :— " Three nose-ornaments are in use in South India. One is a screw inserted on the side of the nostril in a hole bored for the purpose. Its name is *Mookku-Kutty*, i. e. nose-peg. Ladies wear it on both sides of the nose and usually there is a precious stone embedded in the centre of the screw. It is obligatory for married women and virgins to wear at least one of these. *Bulak* and *Nattu* are two ornaments, not now in fashion. As their names denote, they were borrowed from North India.

Very curiously in lithic figures in temples these ornaments are not traceable, probably because of the difficulty of representing them in stone. But I have noticed the screw, in mural paintings in Travancore. I am disposed to regard its wearing as a fairly old custom. "

(4) Anantabhaṭṭa, author of *Campūbhārata* is reported to have "*lived about 1500 A. D.*" His sister's son was Somanātha, the author of *Vyāsayogicaritacampū*. Somanātha was contemporary of king Acyutadevarāya of Vijayanagar and must have lived about 1535 A. D. (Vide p. 285 of M. Krishnamachariar's *History of Classical Sans. Lit.* 1938 and B. Venkobarao's Edition of the *Vyāsayogicaritacampū* (Bangalore) Introduction, pp. iv-ix.) Acyutadevarāya ruled from A. D. 1486-1542.

Anantabhaṭṭa in verse 89 of *2nd Stabaka* of his *Campūbhārata* (Page 80 of N. S. Press, Edition, 1903) puts a nose-ornament on the nose of Draupadī and describes its beauty as follows :—

" अधिनासिकाशिखरमाकलितं नवमौक्तिकं नरपतेर्दुहितुः ।
शुशुभे मुखाम्बुरुहमध्यचरस्मितहंसिकाजनितमण्डमिव ॥ ८९ ॥ "

The pearl on the tip of Draupadī's nose looked as if it were an egg laid in the lotus of her face by the female swan viz. the smile on her face.

Anantabhaṭṭa hardly dreamt of the anachronism involved in the reference!

(5) Prof. R. D. Laddu of the S. P. College, Poona, has kindly drawn my attention to the following reference to nose-ornament (नकफूली) occurring on p. 191 of *Ḍholā-Mārūrā Dūhā* edited by Ram Singh and others and published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares, 1935:—

Dūhā Nos. 571, 572 read as follows—

" सुंदरी चोरे संग्रही, सब लीया सिणगार ।"
नक-फूली लीधी नहीं, कहि सखि कवण बिचार ॥ ५७१ ॥"

[Compare the above *Dūhā* with the anonymous verse quoted above which reads:—

" इन्दीवराक्ष्यः स्फुटविद्रुमौष्ठ्यः सङ्केतमुद्दिश्य वने चरन्त्याः ।
चौराः समस्ताभरणानि हृत्वा नासामणिं नापहरन्ति चित्रम् ॥ "]

" अहर-रंग रत्तउ हुवइ, मुख काजळ मसि-भ्रम्म ।
बाँध्यउ गुंजाहळ अछइ, तेण न ढूकउ मम्म ॥ ५७२ ॥ "

According to the Editors the *D. M. Dūhā* was composed between *Samvat* 1000 and 1618. i. e. between A. D. 944 and 1562. It may be earlier than Saṃvat 1450 i. e. A. D. 1394 (Vide *Prastāvanā* of the work, p. 10). The upper limit of A. D. 944 fixed by the Editors is the date of the hero of the poem viz. Dholā. There is no evidence to prove that the work is contemporary. This reference to nose-ornament can be easily assigned to the period, 1000 A. D. to 1394 and hence it does not go against the theory of the foreign importation of the nose-ornament after the advent of the Muhammedans.

13. Two Religious Poems (in Marathi and Sanskrit) on the Hindu Nose-ornaments *

In my studies[1] of the Nose-ornament of the Hindus so far published I have tried to establish the following points :—

(1) The nose-ornament called *nath* could not be traced in any historical source earlier than A. D. 1000.

(2) This nose-ornament is possibly a foreign importation into Indian culture but its foreign source or genesis has not to my knowledge been brought to light on documentary evidence by any scholar.

(3) This nose-ornament, though foreign to Indian culture, has now become sacrosanct to such an extent that it forms part of the costume of gods and goddesses in Hindu pantheon.

In view of these conclusions already suggested by me I was in search of some texts dealing with the Nose-ornament but having a religious import. It has already been proved that the use of the nose-ornament by our women-folk has been getting more and more popular during the last 1000 years though latterly owing to modern education its use has slackened a little in certain provinces. I have found two poems in which the nose-ornament is the central theme though it is used for religious instruction in a poetic way. One of these poems is a song in Marathi by a Deccani saint of the early 17th century while the other poem consists of 25 Sanskrit stanzas on the nose-ornament of a goddess by a possibly South Indian writer, who was obviously a devotee of this goddess. I am unable to fix the chronology of this Sanskrit poem, though its author gives some particulars about himself and his ancestors. These poems show in an admirable manner the importance that came to be attached to this late importation into Indian–female costume and the perfect innocence of the writers regarding its foreign origin.

The Marathi poem on the nose-ornament is a *pada* or song by Keśavasvāmī who was living in Śaka 1550 = A. D. 1628 according to Mr.

* Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XXVII. pp. 506-511.

1. These studies are:— (1) Antiquity of the Hindu Nose-ornament called *Nath*, *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) XIX. pp., 318-334 and (2) References to Nose-ornament in some works ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya etc.— *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, 1940, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9.

Vaman Daji Oka[1], who has edited Keśavasvāmī's *Padas* numbering no less than 473. Mr. Oka records the following *pada* on page 266 of his edition of Keśavasvāmī's songs :—

" माझें नाकीचें बरवें मोती वो ! ।
वरी फांकली निर्मळ ज्योती वो ! ॥ ध्रुवपद ॥
शुद्ध सुवर्ण गुंफुनी सलिला ।
सुर्वी सुखाचा दावीत सोहळा ॥ माझें० ॥ १ ॥
परम सुंदर जें अतिढाळाचें ।
नित्य नूतन परी बहुकाळाचें ॥ माझें० ॥ २ ॥
बोध माणीक त्यावरी शोभतें ।
डंची पाहुनी व्हालतें लोंबतें ॥ माझें० ॥ ३ ॥
मुख्यलेणियामाजी लेणें वो ।
गुरुवल्लभ मोहिला जेणें वो ॥ माझें० ॥ ४ ॥
प्राप्ती यद्‌र्थी केशव लेतसे ।
वरी सद्‌गुरु चुंबन देतसे ॥ माझें० ॥ ५ ॥ "

In this *pada* the poet has used the metaphor of the nose-ornament for bringing home to the readers the beauties of spiritual instruction and understanding acquired by a devotee through sincere devotion to his preceptor. Here the nose-ornament consists of a pearl (motī) and a ruby (*māṇik*) set in pure gold. It is described as one of the chief ornaments of a lady. The close spiritual intimacy between a devotee and his *guru* is here depicted as that existing between a husband and his beloved wife. The poet has sustained the metaphor of the nose-ornament throughout the song. As a lady adorned with fine ornaments *appearing* before her loving husband is sure to receive his kiss, even so a loving devotee who has been adorned with spiritual understanding through his *guru* becomes capable of receiving spiritual favours from this *guru*, given but the complete self-abandonment of the devotee towards his *guru*. This appears to be the substance of the above song.

Whether other Indian vernacular literature contains any poem on the nose-ornament I cannot say, but I record below a Sanskrit poem which is entirely devoted to the nose-pearl or *nāsāmauktika* of the goddess *Godā*

1. Vide pp. 148–290 of *Kāvyasaṃgraha* 18, A collection of Marāṭhī Padas by *various Marāṭhī Poets*, Part I by V. D. Oka. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1894. Mr. Oka states that Keśava was a Saint who hailed from Bhāgānagar (= Hyderabad, Deccan). His *guru's* name was *Kāśirāja Svāmī*. He is the author of *Ekādaśī Caritra* in *Ovī* metre and several other *padas* and *abhaṅgas*. He was living in Śaka 1600. It is not known when he died. His *Samādhi* is at Gulburga. The Marathi poet Moropant refers to him in his work *Sanmaṇimālā*.

Towards the end of the poem the poet gives us some information about himself. He calls himself "श्रीवेङ्कटेश कवि", son of "श्रीरामानुजदेशिक" and grandson of "शेषाद्रिविद्वन्मणि". The title of the poem is "नासामौक्तिक पंचविंसति." In the Colophon the name of the author is given as "श्रीवेङ्कट-निवासदास," son of "रामानुजगुरुवर" and grandson of "शेषाचलाचार्य," an ornament of the "आत्रेय गोत्र." These particulars may enable us to identify this author but this work must be left to the students of South Indian history.

The following text of the poem is based on the only manuscript available in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. This Ms is R. No. 3872.

" ॥ नासामौक्तिकपञ्चविंशतिः ॥

पद्माह्लादकरस्य पावनकरामर्शाङ्किकासोन्मुखे
नित्यं षट्पदगीतचारुविभवे लक्ष्मीनिवासस्थले ।
गोदाया वदनाम्बुजे निवसतो हंसस्य लीलां श्रयन्
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १ ॥

अव्याजादमृतप्रदे सुमनसां सन्मण्डलीसेविते
पङ्केरुट्पटलीरुचीविधुतनोद्दण्डोल्लसन्मण्डले ।
गोदावक्त्रनिशाकरेऽनुकुरुते यद्रोहिणीविभ्रमं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २ ॥

मुक्ताकल्पकलम्बिकातरलसत्स्वातीपथे भ्रूलता-
व्याजाभ्रालिपरीवृते रदपटीसन्ध्ये मिषत्तारके ।
गोदावक्त्रनभस्थले कलयते शंकां शशाङ्कस्य य-
न्नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ३ ॥

चक्षुर्नीलसरोरुहे परिलसद्भ्रूशैवले रङ्गिणो
देव्या दन्तविसाङ्कुरे मृदुहसत्प्राज्योच्छलद्दीर्घिके ।
हंसाधिष्ठितसन्निधौ बिससरो यातं मुखाख्ये ह्रदे
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ४ ॥

सीमन्ताद्भुतकान्तिपूरनिपतत्कुल्योपमाया भवे-
द्देव्या रत्नललन्तिकासुखसरस्संपूरयन्ती रुचा ।
तस्याः फेनवितानमित्यनुदिनं सन्तर्कितं मौक्तिकै-
र्नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ५ ॥

सन्धानाचलमाकलय्य तिलकं रज्वा कटाक्षाख्यया
नासे मन्दहसामृताब्धिमधुना बद्धादरं मथ्नति ।

मातुर्वक्त्रपयोनिधौ वितनुते यद्बुद्बुदस्याकृतिं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ६ ॥

कान्त्या वक्त्रनिशाकरेण विजितः पूर्णेन्दुरेत्य स्वयं
लज्जासंकुचितात्मको वितनुते सेव्यां (वां) दशामन्वहम् ।
इत्थं सज्जनसन्मतिं हृदि सतां देव्या रमाधीमितु-
र्नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ७ ॥

गोदायास्तिलकास्यपत्रविततेर्भ्रूयुग्मशाखायुषो
भ्रान्त्या ... ... किसलयाद्वक्त्रालवालान्तरे ।
नासावीरुध आदधत्सुमनमद्गुच्छेन सञ्जायतां
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ८ ॥

देव्यास्सुन्दरमन्दहासपयसि भ्रूकल्पवल्लीवृते
रङ्गेन्द्राननपूर्णचन्द्रविमलालोकाद्विवृद्धिं गते ।
श्वेतद्वीपधियं सुधाभिधपयः पाथोनिधावादधन्
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ९ ॥

गोदाया मुखपङ्कजातनिलयाजाता निजा भामिनी
वाणी नित्यमितीव खिन्नमनसा संप्रेक्षिता वेधसा ।
शंसन्ती तदुदीरितं वसति किं हंसीति शङ्कां सृजन्
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १० ॥

कान्त्याऽमोदवचोमरन्दमहसा देव्या मुखाम्भोरुहा
पाथोजं विजितं स्थितं प्रतिदिनं प्राप्तुं पुनस्तान्गुणान् ।
तेनासक्तिमुपैति निश्चलतरामित्यादधत्तो धियं
नासामाक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ ११ ॥

स्वीयाभाभरकौमुदीपरिमिलद्वक्त्राम्बुजाताम्बरात्
सीमन्ताभिधसंध्यया सह कचध्वान्तं पराकुर्वतः ।
भासस्वादमृतोदधेरुदयतश्चन्द्रस्य शोभां भजन्
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १२ ॥

नासावंशलतोदरान्तरभवे मुक्ताफलानां गणे
यत्पूर्वं ... सुविभवं बभूव सरसा नीरन्ध्रतानिर्गतम् ।
तद्वक्त्राब्जमलंकरोति सततं देव्या इति व्याहृतं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १३ ॥

जातश्चारुललाटचन्द्रशकले नासाप्रणाल्यन्तरा
मन्दं मन्दमथो गलन्नवसुधाबिन्दुर्निरुद्धोऽभवत् ।
देव्या ओष्ठतटादितीव मतिमत्संदोहसंदेहदं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १४ ॥

मातुर्मन्दहसच्छटाच्छलसत्पाशान्वितस्य स्मरो
नासारन्ध्रनिरुद्धमूर्तिरसृजच्छ्वासानिले सौरभम् ।
तत्क्षोभेन मनोमृगः किल हरेरापात इत्यूहितं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां संपदम् ॥ १५ ॥

नासाकुन्दलतानुषो नु कवरी कालिन्दि कृष्णस्य किं
कस्तूरीतिलकच्छलस्य सुदशां क्षौमोत्करं मुष्णतः ।
तन्मार्गे गलितः करादथ इति प्राज्ञैर्मनीषोचितं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १६ ॥

गोदाया मुखपङ्कजे निवसति श्रीरङ्गनाथेऽन्वहं
साकाङ्क्षं तिलकच्छलेन पदयोस्सेवां विभोराचरन् ।
शेषः कुण्डलितः किमित्यवहितं धीमत्समूहैस्सुमं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १७ ॥

कृष्णोऽस्यास्तिलकच्छलो मुखगृहे नासाख्यनिश्रेणिका-
मारुह्यानु ललन्तिकामिषलसद्यन्त्रस्थमश्नाति यद् ।
पाणेस्तन्नवनीतमेव गलितं भातीति संभावितं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १८ ॥

गोदाया वदनं विधुं कुवलयामोदस्य सन्तानकं
मत्वा लोकतिरस्कतापनिवहं श्रीविष्णुचित्तोद्भवम् ।
अंकं तस्य समागतो नु बुध इत्यापाद(च)लेपनं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ १९ ॥

रङ्गेन्द्रस्य मनो नु मूर्तिमदतिप्रेमाञ्चितं हृत्यतो
निर्गत्य प्रभुणैव वक्त्रनिकटं संप्राप्य संप्रेषितम् ।
शृण्वद्वाचमिहास्त इत्यनुकूलं क्लृप्तं कलाविस्कुलै-
र्नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २० ॥

देव्याश्शारदचन्द्रमण्डललसज्ज्योत्स्नावितानोपमा
या वक्त्राम्बुरुहेऽन्वहं स्मितसुधा स्रोतस्विनी दृश्यते ।
तस्यास्स्तनकः क्षमाभृदिदमित्यूह्यावहं धीमतां
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २१ ॥

इन्दुर्मन्दहसं विशंक्य विमलं ज्योत्स्नावितानं निजं
देव्या वक्त्रसरोरुहा हृतमिति प्राप्तस्तदन्वेषितुम् ।
आस्ते तन्निकटे किलेति कविभिर्निर्वर्णनाद्दर्शितं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २२ ॥

सूर्यालोकविकस्वरं सुरभिलं शीतांशुतेजोऽसहं
देव्यास्तामरसं विचिन्त्य वदनं वीक्षामरन्दोत्करम् ।

वाणी यन्मिषतोऽत्र तिष्ठति सदेस्वाशोचितं पण्डितै-
र्नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २३ ॥

देव्या श्वाससमीरणोद्वि ... शुभाऽमोदाजया पन्नगः
कश्चित्कुण्डलिनश्शशाङ्कसरुचि ... निश्चलम् ।
एवं सा चिरमाचितं सुमतिभिर्विद्वद्भिरत्यद्भुतं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २४ ॥

गोदावक्त्रपयःपयोनिधितटे नस्या [नासा ?] भिधाशुक्तिका
कान्त्या सा सुभगैरतीव कबरीकादम्बिनी पूजिते ।
मुक्तारत्नमसूत किं निवसति मुहुः प्रेक्षावदुत्प्रेक्षितं
नासामौक्तिकमातनोतु भवतां नानाविधां सम्पदम् ॥ २५ ॥

श्रीरामानुजदेशिकस्य तनयः शेषाद्रिविद्वन्मणेः
पौत्रो यामकृतेह भक्तिनिभृतः श्रीवेङ्कटेशः कविः ।
नासामौक्तिकपञ्चविंशतिमिमां नित्यञ्जपन् मानवो
गोदापादसरोजयुग्मविषयां भक्तिं भजेत्पावनीम् ॥

इति श्रीमदात्रेयगोत्रभूपायमाणशेषाचलाचार्य-पौत्रेण
श्रीरामानुजगुरुवरसूनुना श्रीवेङ्कटनिवासदासेन विरचिता
श्रीगोदानासामौक्तिकपञ्चविंशतिः सम्पूर्णा ।

गोदागुणरत्नकोशे नासामौक्तिकविषयं श्लोकद्वयम् ।

नासामणीरोहिणी ते यतो वदनचन्द्रमाः ।
भजत्यतो वृषस्यैव जहाति शठजित्सुते ॥
मुखकान्तितरङ्गिण्या वहन्त्या जीवनं मम ।
शङ्के नासातटीसक्तं सैकतं नासिकामणिम् ॥

॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

14. References to Nose-ornament in some works ascribed to Śaṁkarācārya and their effect on the Authorship and Chronology of these Works*

The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, published in 1937 an edition of the *Saundaryalaharī* [1] of Śrī-Śaṃkara-Bhagavatpāda. The Editors describe this work as a Poem, (i) "displaying the finest touches of poetical fancy, (ii) a Stotra, Hymn in praise of the Goddess Tripura Sundari, (iii) a series of Mantras, mystic formulæ, to be used by the Upāsaka along with the corresponding Yantras, Diagrams, wherein the Devī is to be conceived as abiding, and (iv) an exposition of the Āgamas and Tantras bearing on the worship of the Supreme Being in its aspect of the Śakti, Creative Energy, known as the Śrī-vidyā, embodying the underlying principles of Vaidika Dharma and as such having the sanction of the Vedas." [2] Further about the authorship and date of the work the Editors make the following remarks :—

(1) "Śrī-Śaṃkara-Bhagavatpāda is accredited as the author of the *Saundaryalaharī* [3] by Lakṣmīdhara, Bhāskararāya, Kaivalyāśrama, Kāmeśvarasūri, Acyutānanda and a host of other commentators [4] of the work."

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* *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly* Vol. XXI, ph. 1–9.

1. Edited with English Trans. Commentary, Diagrams and an Appendix on Prayoga by Pt. S. S. Śāstri and T. R. Śrīnivāsa Ayyangar.

2. *Intro.* p. V.

3. Ibid p. ix—"Vallabhadeva, who is assigned to the *fifteenth Century A. D.* in his *Subhāṣitāvali* quotes the 27th Stanza of this work ascribing its authorship to Śrī Śaṃkara-Bhagavatpāda."

4. Vide Aufrecht: *Cata. Catalogorum. Part I.* p. 48–Commentaries on आनंदलहरी or सौन्दर्यलहरी addressed to Śakti by Śaṃkarācārya :—

(1) विद्वन्मनोरमा, (2) विष्णुपक्षी, (3) by अप्पयदीक्षित, (4) by कविराज, (5) मञ्जुभाषिणी by कृष्णाचार्य, (6) by केशवभट्ट, (7) सौभाग्यवर्धिनी by कैवल्याश्रम, (8) तत्त्वदीपिका by गङ्गाहरि, (9) by गङ्गाधर, (10) by गोपीराम, (11) आनन्दलहरीतरी by गौरीकान्त सार्वभौम, (12) by जगदीश, (13) by जगन्नाथ पञ्चानन, (14) by नरसिंह, (15) भावार्थदीपिका by ब्रह्मानंद, (16) by मल्लभट्ट, (17) by महादेव विद्यावागीश, (18) by माधव वैद्य, (19) by रामचंद्र, (20) by रामभद्र, (21) by रामानंदतीर्थ, (22) by लक्ष्मीधर देशिक, (23) by विश्वंभर, (24) by श्रीकान्तभट्ट, *Part II* p. 9—(25) by

[Continued on next page]

(2) "The author of the gloss *Sudhāvidyotini* ascribes it to his own father Pravarasena, the son of Dramiḍa, a king of the Dramiḍa Country, and says that on the strength of the information directly obtained from his father he wrote the said gloss."

(3) "There are others who say that Śiva himself is the author of the Stotra.

(4) And yet others who maintain that it had its origin in the teeth of Lalitā, the Prime Śakti."

(5) "There is yet another tradition about the prime source of this work. The story goes that Śaṃkara Bhagavatpāda, who is considered to be Īśvara incarnate, paid a visit to Kailāsa clad in the robes of a mendicant and took the Mantra-Śāstra placed by the Devī on the throne of Īśvara. While he was about to leave Kailāsa along with the spoil, Nandikeśvara, who was on duty hard by, snatched the book from his hands. After grappling with him for a while the Ācārya succeeded in retaining a portion of the book which contained the first 41 stanzas of the *Saundarya-laharī* to which were added 59 more stanzas composed later on by him to complete the work."[1] The view of the Editors about the authorship of the work is clear in the following remarks[2] :—

"All these traditions apart any unsophisticated student of the Śrīvidyā after a thorough and close study of the literature bearing on it is bound to arrive at the conclusion that *this work of Śaṃkara* gives a faithful rendering of the views of his Parama Guru Śrī Gauḍapādācārya in the first 41 stanzas of this work for the delectation of the more advanced student, rounded off with a highly poetic adoration of the Devī in the

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शंकराचार्य, (26) विस्तार चन्द्रिका by गोविंद, (27) by श्रीरङ्गदास, *Part III* p. 11 -- (28) पदार्थचन्द्रिका, (29) रहस्यप्रकाश by जगदीश तर्कालंकार (vide No. 12 above), (30) by पद्मनाभ दत्त (31) सुधाविद्योतिनी by प्रवरसेन (?), (32) तत्त्वबोधिनी by महादेव, son of यादव (vide no. 17 above), (33) by मुकुन्दराय, son of रामकवि, (34) by रामठाकुर शर्मन्, (35) मनोरमा by सहजानंदनाथ (See No. 1 above) and (36) हरिभक्तिसुधोदय by हरिनारायण.

The chronology of all these Commentators is worth investigation in view of the importance of the text they have commented upon.

1. Ibid, p. X.

2. Ibid, p. X, footnote—last nine lines.

latter portion." The Editors have greater belief in "the genuineness of Śaṃkara-Bhagavatpāda's authorship of this Stotra," "than of several other Stotras ascribed to him."[1]

About the date of the author of the *Saundaryalaharī* the Editors observe[2]:—

"Śaṃkara-bhagavatpāda to whom almost universally this work is attributed must have flourished in the *eighth Century A. D.*, an inference which is supported by the view of European scholars that Śrī Śaṃkarācārya, the author of the *Śārīraka-mīmāṃsābhāṣya* flourished between A. D. 788 and 820." "We are, therefore, of opinion .... that *this Stotra is the genuine work of Śrī-Śaṃkara Bhagavatpāda, who lived in the eighth Century* A. D." With the firm belief of the Editors in the authorship of the *Saundaryalaharī*, which they regard as the genuine work of the celebrated Śaṃkarācārya, the pupil of Gauḍapādācārya, let us see if there exists in this poem itself any evidence which goes against this belief.[3] Verse 61 of this poem reads as follows:—

" असौ नासावंशस्तुहिनगिरिवंशध्वजपटि
त्वदीयो नेदीयः फलतु फलमस्माकमुचितम् ।
वहन्नन्तर्मुक्ताः शिशिरतरनिश्वासघटिताः
समृद्ध्या यत्तासां बहिरपि च मुक्तामणिधरः ॥ ६१ ॥ "

The Editors translate this verse as follows:—

"O Flag of the Staff (dynasty) of the snow-clapped Mountain may this the bamboo of thy nose, immediately bear us the cherished fruit.

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1. Ibid, p. xi.

2. Ibid, p. xii.

3. J. N. Farquhar (p. 206 of *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, 1920) makes the following remarks about the *Saundaryalaharī*:—

"The *Saundaryalaharī* is a famous ode to the goddess in a hundred stanzas, of which Stanzas 1–41 are frequently published as a separate ode under the name *Ānandalaharī*. The whole is usually ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya but serious scholars regard the ascription a mistake. Lakṣmīdhara ... ... who belongs to the *end of the 15th Century* has a valuable Commentary on it. As he unhesitatingly accepts the authorship of Śaṃkara there must be a tradition of some age to that effect behind him. The work thus goes back to a fairly early date but it is not yet possible to be more definite."

The date "*end of the 15th Century*" for Lakṣmīdhara given by Farquhar is wrong as Lakṣmīdhara was contemporary of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar (A. D. 1509-1530) and was the greatest Sanskrit poet in the literary circle of this king (Vide p. 288 of *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, Dharwar, 1936.)

Bearing in its (hollow) interior pearls, kept in their places by thy very cool breath, it wears a pearl outside also, there being an abundance of them (pearls) therein. "[1]

The Editors tell[2] us: "Here is reference to the South Indian custom of boring a hole through the left side of the nose of women so as to attach an ornament with a pearl pendant."

The foregoing remarks of the Editors leave no doubt that they treat this verse, containing a reference to nose-ornament, as a genuine part of the *Saundaryalaharī* which they say is a work of Śrī Śaṃkarācārya. I have now to invite their attention to my paper[3] on the Hindoo Nose-Ornament[4] in which I have brought forward sufficient evidence to prove that the nose-ornament makes its appearance in Indian history and culture about 1000 A. D. but not earlier. If the above reference to nose-ornament in the *Saundaryalaharī* is a genuine one it will prove the existence of nose-ornament in India in the 8th Century A. D., if not earlier — a conclusion which is not warranted by my evidence regarding the nose-ornament explained by me in detail in my paper under reference. On the contrary I am inclined to hold the views that —

1. For the double meaning of the word *Vaṃśa* and its application in the present stanza see the remarks of the Editors on p. 192 " The fact that the Devī's nose wears as an ornament a pearl outside, is taken advantage of by the poet, who represents it as one of the pearls in the hollow of the bamboo-like nose cast by the exhaling breath of the Devī and forming an index as it were to the pearls inside. "

2. Ibid, p. 193.

3. Vide *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. XIX pp. 313-332 " *Antiquity of the Hindu Nose-Ornament called Nath.* "

4. I may point out the significant *absence of nose-ornament* in the following extract from a Jain Sanskrit work of " *A. D. 7th Century* " :— Verses 57 to 59 of Chapter XV of *Varāṅga Carita* of Jaṭāsiṃhanandi (ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, 1938, p. 133) read as follows:—

" रत्नहारप्रवालांश्चनूपुरप्रकटाङ्गदम् ।
मुक्ताप्रलम्बसूत्राणि माल्यावलम्बमेखलाः ॥ ५७ ॥
कटकान्यूरुजालानि केयूराः कर्णमुद्रिकाः ।
कर्णपूरान् शिखाबन्धान्मस्तकाभरणानि च ॥ ५८ ॥
कण्ठिकावत्सदामानि रसनाः पादवेष्टकाः ॥
आमुच्याकुच्य सर्वाणि चिक्षिपुर्विदिशो दिशः ॥ ५९ ॥ "

This is a description of ladies of the *antaḥpura* mourning the loss of the prince Varāṅga and throwing away all their ornaments. The list of woman's ornaments recorded here is quite elaborate and if it includes earrings (कर्णमुद्रिकाः) the omission of नासामुक्ताफल of later times in this list is worth noting. According to Dr. Upadhye " Jaṭāsiṃhanandi belonged possibly to

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(1) the verse in the *Saundaryalaharī* referring to nose-ornament is not a genuine part of the poem.

or (2) if the Editors regard it as a genuine part of the poem the entire poem is not the work of Śrī Śaṃkarācārya and further,

(3) it is a work composed sometime after 1000 A. D. by some author who may have borne the name Śaṃkara.

I would, therefore, request the Editors to examine their evidence about the authorship of the poem and the genuineness of the verse in the light of the view urged by me above to the effect that the work, *Saundaryalaharī* is not the work of the great Indian philosopher of the 9th Century but a late production of some learned pandit with deep devotion to the Devī, the subject of the poem.

The reference to nose-ornament in the *Saundaryalaharī* quoted above is analogous to the following late references [1] to it in other Sanskrit works :—

(1) *About A. D. 1080* -- Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita* refers to नासावंश and मुक्ताफल.

Verse 79— " नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफलसनाभिना
भाति भालतलस्थेन बालचन्दनबिन्दुना "

(2) *A. D. 1257*—Jalhaṇa in his anthology *Sūktimuktāvali.*
" पुण्डरीकमिवाभाति नासावंशगमौक्तिकम् "

I have also pointed out that another work commonly ascribed to *Śrī Śaṃkarācārya* contains a reference [2] to the nose-ornament in verse 45 :—
" महत्तासुरी कुरुष्व गिरिजे नासाविभूषामिमाम् "

This work also is not regarded by scholars as a genuine work of the great philosopher and there is no reason why the *Saundaryalaharī* also should not be treated likewise [3] in view of its reference to nose-or-

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Karnāṭak." In the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* of the *Daśakumāra-Carita* (IV Ucchvāsa—p. 28 of P. V. Kulkarni's Edn., Bombay, 1919) we have a list of woman's ornaments as follows :—

" मणि नूपुर मेखला कङ्कण कटक ताटङ्कहार क्षौम कज्जलं वनितायोग्य मण्डनजातं "

The *Pūrvapīṭhikā* is regarded by Dr. A. B. Keith as "*no part of* Daṇḍin's work" (*Sans. Lit.* p. 298)

1. Vide p. 320 of *Annals*, XIX, Part IV (1939).

2. *Annals XIX*, p. 330—Reference from त्रिपुरसुन्दरीमानसपूजास्तोत्र

3. Dr. Belvalkar enumerates over 210 *Stotras* which he considers as "*not genuine* works of Śrī Śaṃkarācārya." This number includes Stotras addressed to the consort of Śiva under names (*1*) Devī (*2*) *Tripura Sundarī* or *Sundarī* (*3*) *Bhavānī* (*4*) *Lalitā* (*5*) *Ambā* or *Ambikā* (*6*) *Bālā*, (*7*) *Kālī*, or *Kālikā* (*8*) *Gaurī* or *Girijā* (*9*) *Śyāmā* or *Śyāmalā* and (*10*)

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nament. These two references to *nose-ornament* in two different works ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya should lead us to a regular search for references to nose-ornament in other works included in the Vani Vilas Edition of the Works of Śaṃkarācārya. Though I cannot undertake this inquiry at present I may record below some other references to nose-ornament in the works commonly ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya:—

In the *Mantramātṛkā-puṣpamālā-Stava*[1] the following verse 6 contains a reference to नासामौक्तिक :—

" हंसैरप्यतिलोभनीयगमने हारावलीमुज्ज्वलां
हिन्दोलद्युतिहीरपूरिततरे हेमाङ्गदे कङ्कणे ।
मञ्जीरौ मणिकुण्डले मुकुटमप्यर्धेन्दुचूडामणिं
नासामौक्तिकमङ्गुलीयकटकौ काञ्चीमपि स्वीकुरु ॥ ६ ॥ "

In the *Devī-Catuḥ-Ṣaṣṭyupacārapūjā-Stotra*[2] the nose-ornament is referred to as " नासापुटे मौक्तिकम् " as will be seen from the following verse 20 :—

" धम्मिल्ले तव देवि हेमकुसुमान्याधाय फालस्थले
मुक्ताराजिविराजमानतिलकं नासापुटे मौक्तिकम् ।
मातर्मौक्तिकजालिकां च कुचयोः सर्वाङ्गुलीषूर्मिकाः
कट्यां काञ्चनकिङ्किणीर्विनिदधे रत्नावतंसं श्रुतौ ॥ २० ॥ "

In the *Yamunāṣṭaka*[3] there is a reference to मौक्तिक as नासिकभूषण of goddess Yamunā in verse 7 :—

" करिवरमौक्तिकनासिकभूषणवातचमत्कृतचञ्चलके
मुखकमलामलसौरभचञ्चलमत्तमधुव्रतलोचनिके ।
मणिगणकुण्डललोलपरिस्फुरदाकुलगण्डयुगामलके
जय यमुने जय भीतिनिवारिणि संकटनाशिनि पावय माम् ॥ "

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Śivā, *Pārvatī, Mātaṅgī, Sahajā, Jvālāmukhī, Rājarājeśvarī*. (Vide p. 223 of *Basu Mallik Lectures* Part 1, 1929). About the work *Ānandalaharī* Dr. Belvalkar regards " it as probably the genuine work of Śaṃkarācārya " but he specifies this work as " Consisting of 20 Stanzas in Śikhariṇī metre and honoured by over 20 Commentaries, one attributed to Śaṃkara himself " (" as printed in the Vani Vilas Edition Vol. 17, pp. 159-164 and to be distinguished from the *Saundaryalahari* in 100 Stanzas. The authenticity of the work is not, however, absolutely certain. ")

1. Vani Vilas Edition, Srirangam, Vol. 17, 210.
2. Vani Vilas Edn. Vol. 17, p. 223.
3. — Do. — Vol. 18, p. 99.

In the *Bhramarāmbāṣṭakam* [1] we find a reference to मुक्तामणी on the tip of the nose of the goddess in verse 1 :-

"चाञ्चल्यारुणलोचनाञ्चितकृपां चन्द्रार्कचूडामणिं
चारुस्मेरमुखां चराचरजगत्संरक्षणीं तत्पदाम् ।
चञ्चच्चम्पकनासिकाग्रविलसन्मुक्तामणीरञ्जितां ।
श्रीशैलस्थलवासिनीं भगवतीं श्रीमातरं भावये ॥ १ ॥"

If the verses containing a reference to *nose-ornament* quoted above form part of genuine works of Śaṃkara it would appear that the great Indian philosopher was a great devotee of not only the goddess but of her nose-ornament as well. It appears to me that all these works containing the references to nose-ornament are not the works of Śaṃkara and that they were composed after A. D. 1000. The following table will sum up the six references to nose-ornament in works ascribed to Śaṃkara and included in the Vani Vilas Edition of his works :—

No.	Work	Vani Vilas Edition	Manner of Reference
1	सौन्दर्यलहरी	Vol. XVII, p. 140	"नासावंश" and "मुक्तामणि"
2	त्रिपुरसुंदरीमानसपूजास्तोत्र	Vol. I, p. 197	"मौक्तिका", "नासाविभूषाम्"
3	मन्त्रमातृकापुष्पमालास्तव	Vol. XVII, p. 250	"नासामौक्तिकम्"
4	देवीचतुःषष्टयुपचार	Vol. XVII, p. 223	"नासापुटे मौक्तिकम्"
5	यमुनाष्टकम्	Vol. XVIII, p. 99	"मौक्तिक नासिकभूषण"
6	भ्रमराम्बाष्टकम्	Vol. XVIII, p. 119	"नासिकाग्रविलसन्मुक्तामणी"

Evidently all the works mentioned in the above table were composed after the nose-ornament had taken possession of the Hindu society and culture, not to say religion in view of the fact that in all the six cases recorded above the poet has described the nose-ornament in the nose of the goddess.

1. Vani Vilas Edn. Vol. 18. p. 119.

15. The Egyptian Nose-ring as described by E. W. Lane (A. D. 1833-1835) and its Biblical ancestry*

In 1939 I published a paper on the "Antiquity of Hindu Nose-Ornaments" (*Annals* of B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XIX, pp. 313–334) in which I tried to establish that this ornament is a foreign importation into India and that it was imported into India some time about A. D. 1000. Subsequently I noted some references to "nose-jewels" in the *Bible* and requested my friend Prof. R. T. S. Miller of Bombay to examine them closely. In 1942 Prof. Miller published the result of his examination of these and other references to nose-rings (Hebrew, *nezem*) in a paper on the "Nose-Ring in the Old Testament" (*New Indian Antiquary*, May 1942, pp. 25–30). Of the eleven passages examined by Prof. Miller, *four* use the word undoubtedly in the sense of "Nose-ring." These passages are:

(1) *Genesis* xxiv. 47; (3) *Isaiah* iii. 21;
(2) *Proverbs* xi. 22; (4) *Ezekiel* xvi. 12.

According to Prof. Miller these passages "do not all show a very favourable attitude to such ornaments" and indicate that it was a "foreign importation" among the Hebrews, who might have inherited this custom from the ancestors they had in common with other Semitic people."

Prof. Miller further observes that the "Bedawin have kept the custom of using *nose-rings* to the present day." In support of this statement he quotes Burton's *Pilgrimage to Mecca*, p. 376, where it is stated: The ornaments (of the Bedawin) are bracelets, collars, ear-and *nose-rings* of gold, silver or silver-gilt."

The *Bedouins* are a very ancient tribe. They are referred to as *Aamu* in one of the inscriptions in a tomb of Beni-Hasan (near Harmopolis) belonging to about 1900 B. C. A tomb of the Fifth Dynasty (*c.* 2560–2420 B. C.) furnishes evidence about the earliest contact between Egypt and Syria-Palestine. About 1950 B. C. an official of the name Sinuhe (from Egypt) fled to Southern Palestine and there settled among the Bedawins, who were called "plunderers" or "sand-dwellers" by the Egyptians.[1] I cannot say anything about the source of the *nose-rings* current in Palestine at the time when the section of Genesis containing a reference to *nose-rings* was compiled (about 850 B. C. as stated by Prof.

* *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society*, March 1947, Vol. I, pp. 281-288.

1. Vide chapter 9 on "Egypt and Israel" in *Legacy of Egypt* by S. R. K. Glanville Oxford, 1943, p. 219.

Miller). Whether the ancient Bedawins (Aamu) or the ancient Egyptians had among them the custom of wearing nose-rings prior to say about 850 B. C., is a problem on which we should expect some light from the Egyptologists. I want, however, to put on record the following evidence about the use of nose-ornaments by ladies in Egypt between A. D. 1833–1835 as recorded by Edward William Lane in his *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, edited by Alexander Gardner London, 1895. Chapter XXI of this book deals with "Egyptian Female Ornaments" (pp. 561–572) some of which are described in detail. I note below the names of these ornaments as given by Lane :

I. Ornaments used by Ladies of Middle Orders :

(1) Diamond *Kurs* ; (2) Gold *Kurs* : (3) *Kussah* ; (4) *Enebeh* ; (5) *Shawâteh* ; (6) *Reesheh* ; (7) *Hilâl* : (8) *Kamarah* ; (9) *Sâkiyeh* ; (10) *Ood es-saleeb* ; (11) *Misht* ; (12) *Halak* (ear-rings) of many kinds ; (13) *Ekd* (necklace) of many kinds ; (14) *Khatims* (finger-rings, *debbh* is a finger-ring without a stone) ; (15) *Asâwir* (Bracelets) ; (16) Ornaments of the hair, *safa, bark* etc; (17) *Khulkhul* (Anklets); (18) *Hegâb* (amulet).

II. Ornaments used by Ladies of Lower Orders :

(1) *Halak* (ear- rings) ; (2) *Khizâm* or *Khuzâm* (nose-ring) ; (3) *Ekd* (necklace) ; (4) *Tok* (a ring for the neck) ; (5) Finger-rings ; (6) *Asâwir* (bracelets) ; (7) Hair ornaments, *Okoos* etc.; (8) *Khulkhul* (anklets).

About the nose-rings Lane observes (Page 571) [1] :

"The *Khizâm*" or nose-ring commonly called "*Khuzâm*" is worn by a few of the women of the lower orders in Cairo and by many of those in the country towns and villages both of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is most commonly made of brass, is from an inch to a half in diameter ; and has usually three or more coloured glass beads generally red and blue, attached to it. It is almost always passed through the right ala of the nose, and hangs partly before mouth, so that the wearer is obliged to hold it up with one hand when she puts anything into her mouth. It is sometimes of gold. This ornament is as ancient as the time of the patriarch Abraham* and is mentioned by Isaiah (iii. 21) and by Ezekiel (XIV. 12). To those who are unaccustomed to the sight of it, the nose-ring is certainly the reverse of an ornament."

The above extract about the nose-ring as a female ornament current in Egypt more than 100 years ago may be taken to be accurate as

1. On this page there is a wood-cut picture of the face of a woman wearing the *nose-ring* and on either side of the face are pictures of nose-rings with beads.

* See Genesis, XXIV, 47, where in our common version "ear-ring" is improperly put for "nose-ring."

Lane's book was characterized in his days as "the most remarkable description of a people ever written." In the Biographical Sketch[1] (pp. vii–ix) to this book the editor states that this book "remains to this day the standard authority on its subject."

In Lane's remark about the Egyptian nose-ring the following points are noteworthy :–

(1) Use of the nose-ring among the ladies of the lower orders in Egypt.

(2) Currency of the nose-ring among some of the ladies of lower orders of Cairo and among many ladies in the country towns and villages of Upper and Lower Egypt.

It would appear from the above observations that the nose-ring in Egypt must have had some previous history. If this supposition is correct we are curious to know this history as vouched by ancient[2] and mediaeval Egyptian records. Egypt seems to have been in contact with India long prior to A. D. 400. C. H. Roberts in his chapter on the *Greek Papyri* in the *Legacy of Egypt* (edited by Glanville, Oxford, 1942), p. 270, states that it is to a single papyrus of A. D. 359 that we owe the knowledge that the government was taking steps at that time to revive the trade between Egypt and India. In view of this early contact between Egypt and India it would have been easy for the nose-ring to migrate to India long before A. D. 1000, when it first appears in Indian literature. We must, therefore, investigate the exact source of the Indian nose-ornament and try to determine whether it was introduced into India by the Egyptians or by the Bedawins of Palestine, who have kept the custom of using nose-ring upto the present day as stated by Prof. Miller.

1. I note some points from this sketch : -Edward William Lane, born at Hereford on 17th September, 1801—went to Egypt in 1825 to improve his health—studied Arabic language as also the people of Egypt—adopted native costume and was generally taken for a Turk—engaged two Professors to instruct him in Arabic and in Muslim religion and law—adopted Arabian life and manners—gained entire confidence of the Arabs—Lane wanted to make the Egyptians known to the world—returned to England in 1828 with his *Description of Egypt* complete—returned to Egypt in 1833 for revising his book, which was ultimately issued in 1836 in 2 Vols., illustrated with wood-cuts drawn by the author— great success of the book—two years later Lane brought out his translation of *Arabian Nights* and subsequently some other works—Lane died at Worthing, Sussex, on 10 th August, 1876 in his 75th year—his grand-nephew S Lane Poole completed the publication of Lane's Lexicon (1876–1890), a work of highest authority–Lane was made a D. Litt. of Leyden University and was a Civil List Pensioner of the British Government.

2. Vide p. 421 of Cambridge *Ancient History*, Vol. II (1926). In the remarks on Egyptian costume we find the women using brooch, sandals of wood and leather, ear-ring, neck-lace, ear-studs, armlets or bangle (used by men and women). There is no reference to any nose ornament in this description of Ancient Egyptian costume say before B. C. 1000. Ear-rings were probably introduced from Asia after the middle of XVIIIth Dynasty.

16. The Hindu Nose-ornament – Its Past and Present*

Every one knows Spenser's dictum " Decoration precedes dress ", as applied to mankind in general. Though love of ornaments is natural in man, its excess is sometimes attributed to Oriental people. Though our Aryan ancestors may not have been excessively fond of ornaments in remote antiquity, they may have developed this love when they settled in India and came into contact with other races and cultures. We find accordingly quite a big list of male and female ornaments mentioned by Bharata in his Nāṭya-Śāstra. In this list the Nose-ornament is conspicuously absent.

At present the nose-ornament of varied types and designs is current in all parts of India from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin among Hindu as well as non-Hindu ladies. I am, however, concerned here only with the history of the Hindu nose-ornament. In the present state of this problem, I am inclined to hold the view that the Hindu ladies, who had practically an ornament for every part of their bodies before 1000 A. D., picked up the nose-ornament from savage tribes among whom it appears to have been current, if we are to judge their past by their present customs. The anthropologists have already recorded evidence which shows that all savage tribes in Asia, Oceania, Australia, Africa and America have had the custom of boring not only the septum of the nose and putting pendants or rings through the hole, but of boring the sides of the nostrils and inserting nose-pins into them. In view of this evidence, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hindu ladies must have adopted the custom in imitation of the savages about 1000 A. D. Sea-faring nations into contact with wild tribes of the different parts of the world referred to above, may have introduced it into India.

Recently I discovered some references to nose-jewels in the English translation of the Old Testament of the Bible. I have asked a Biblical scholar to examine these and other references to the nose-ornament in the Bible and report if these references are genuine. In case their genuineness is supported by Hebrew, Greek and Latin translations of the Bible, we may be able to take the history of the nose-ornament backwards from 1000 A. D. to about 800 B. C. But even then the question will remain: " What is the genesis of nose-ornament and its history prior to 800 B. C. ?"

* *Ratnadīpa*, Rajapur, 1941, pp. 22-24.

This question must be answered by students of proto-Indian history and anthropology. I can only say that the custom of boring the nose or any other part of the body is a savage one and needs to be abandoned by Hindu ladies. At any rate the Nath (नथ), with all its jewels and rubies, should be discarded by our women-folk, though it is wrongly regarded as a sign of married bliss. Its wearing is not supported by any text on Hindu Dharma-Śāstra from the earliest to the last. But custom lends enchantment to the face, and our orthodox sisters are not inclined to leave the *Nath* to the savage tribes; on the contrary, they make their husbands pay a heavy cost for this ornament which has got the halo of antiquity at least of the last 1000 years. Though our educated sisters are not much fond of this ornament, I find at least some of them wearing this ornament on some occasions in families where orthodoxy has not yet completely disappeared.

At present, the type of the nose-ornament differs with different provinces of India. But even in the 16th century, the Ain-i-Akbari mentions four varieties of nose- ornament viz. the Besar, Nath, Phul etc. This evidence shows the gradual evolution of the types of the nose-ornament on Indian soil in civilized society. Some time ago an article appeared in the Illustrated Weekly Times with photographs of ladies of the Chamba State wearing very complicated nose-ornaments with gold plates and chains hanging from the noses. One shudders to see this harness of the female nose, which hinders the beauty of the nose instead of enhancing it. But "Frailty, thy name is woman" says Shakespeare, and women are slaves of ornaments in a much greater degree than men. "Kanaka" and "Kāntā" are inseparably connected from remote antiquity and let us hope that education may be able to separate them at least so far as the nose-ornament is concerned.

The history of the nose-ornament so far revealed shows, in an admirable manner, how Hindu culture has acquired foreign elements through centuries and digested them thoroughly. Recently I have sent for publication the texts of two religious poems, one in Marathi and the other in Sanskrit, based on nose-ornament as their central theme. I have published another paper on references found in Stotras, the authorship of which is ascribed to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, but which appear to me to be late works, with which this great Indian philosopher had nothing to do. In fact, I can say that any work containing references to the nose-ornament is later than 1000 A. D., as no literature—Jain, Buddhist or Brahmanical—prior

to 1000 A. D. contains any reference to nose-ornament. In the same manner, no sculpture or painting earlier than 1000 A. D. contains any representation of the nose-ornament at least in India.

The future of the nose-ornament is, of course, quite uncertain, and one cannot say whether the mass-mind of India can discard it at once like many other customs, which were once current, but became obsolete in course of centuries. Cleopatra's nose made history in classical times, and people wished it was a little bit shorter; but that was not to be. In the same manner, one cannot feel sure whether our women folk would discard their nose-ornament finally and change the course of Indian cultural history as a result of the labours of historians, which only excite the interest of the people for a short time and then get buried in the ponderous volumes on our book-shelves, as there is no law to control our present literature in so far as it affects our culture, and no dictator to weed out foreign elements from it, healthy or otherwise.

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17. The Nose-Ring in the Old Testament*

By R. T. S. Millar, Bombay.

[In 1939 I published a paper on the "Antiquity of the Hindu Nose-ornament" in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Institute (Vol. XIX, pp. 313-334) in which I tried to prove that this ornament is a foreign importation into Indian culture. I further traced the history of this ornament in Indian sources from A. D. 1000 onwards but was unable to trace any references to it in Indian sources prior to A. D. 1000. In view of these findings I was curious to investigate the history of this ornament prior to A. D. 1000 in any source other than Indian and accordingly carried on a cursory perusal of the Bible. To my great surprise I found in the Bible some references to the nose-jewels. In this connection I had a discussion with my friend Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI, who advised me to consult some scholar, competent to study all the references to the nose-ring in the Bible and to prepare a critical note on them for publication in the *New Indian Antiquary*. As a result of Prof. KOSAMBI's inquiry through Prof. John MACLEAN of the Wilson College, Bombay, I was fortunately introduced to Prof. R. T. S. MILLAR of the same College who kindly agreed to my request and prepared the following interesting note on the "Nose-ring in the Old Testament". I take this opportunity of thanking all these friends for their willing co-operation in pursuing my inquiry about the antiquity of the Nose-ornament prior to A. D. 1000. Prof. MILLAR thinks that the custom of wearing the nose-ring might have come to the Hebrews from the ancestors they had in common with other Semitic peoples — P. K. GODE.]

The following does not attempt to be more than a note on the use of the Hebrew word *nezem* in the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible. The significance of this is that it indicates that nose-rings were in use among the people of the Hebrews several centuries before Christ.

The word *nezem* means an ornament in the shape of a ring, and this seems always to have been made of gold. The dictionary gives two meanings : "nose-ring" and "ear-ring", because in some places where it is used it is obviously attached to the nose, and in others it is certainly an ornament for the ears.

There are eleven passages in the Old Testament where the word is used :-

* *New Indian Antiquary*, May 1942, pp. 25-30.

Genesis 24, verses 22, 30, 47.
Genesis 35, verse 4.
Exodus 32, verses 2, 3.
Exodus 35, verse 22.
Judges 8, verses 24, 25, 26.
Isaiah 3, verse 21.
Ezekiel 16, verse 12.
Hosea 2, Verse 13.
Job 42, verse 11.
Proverbs 11, verse 22.
Proverbs 25, verse 12.

In two of the above passages there is a direct reference to ears. The first is Genesis 35, 4. The Hebrew is as follows:

w^{e}eth hann^{e}zāmīm '^{a}sher b^{e}' oznēhem ;

which is translated in the Authorised Version of the Bible as

"all their earrings which were in their ears."

The Revised Version translates:

"the rings which were in their ears;"

and Professor MOFFATT, in *A New Translation of the Bible*, as

"their amulets of ear-rings."

The other is Exodus 32, 2, 3.

"wayyōmer '^{a}lēhem ' ah^{a}rōn pār^{e}qū nizmē hazzāhābh '^{a}sher b^{e}' oznē n^{e}shēkhem b^{e}nēkhem ūbh^{e}nothekhem"

"And Aaron said unto them "Break off the golden earrings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters." (A. V.)

"... Break off the golden rings" (R. V.)

MOFFATT also translates *earrings.*

As the word *nezem* (plural n^{e}zāmīm) in these passages undoubtedly means an earring, the earlier translators seem to have attempted to read this meaning into the word in all cases where that was at all possible. The Septuagint (the Greek version of the Old Testament) translates in all cases by *enotion*, an earring. The Vulgate follows suit with *inaures*, but finds difficulty in two passages, where it uses other words. These will be dealt with later. The Authorised Version (English, 1611) followed the Vulgate, translating by *earring* except in these two cases. The Revised Version (English, 1884) alters to *nose-ring* in a number of passages, and seems to give the correct rendering in most cases. This, with MOFFATT's

Translation, may be treated as the last word on the subject as far as translation is concerned.

Besides the passage dealt with above, there are several of the passages in question where there seems to be little doubt that earrings are referred to. These are :–

Judges 8, 24

ūthᵉnū-lī īsh nezem shᵉlālo ki-nizme zāhābh lāhem kī yishmᵉ'ēlīm hem "give me every man the earrings of his prey (for they had golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites)" (A. V.)

The R. V. and MOFFATT also translate *earrings*.

Job 42, 11

" wayittᵉnū lō īsh nezem zāhābh eḥādh "

" every man gave him .... an earring of gold " (A. V.)

" every man gave him .... a ring of gold " (R. V.)

" a gold ring " (MOFFATT)

The chief reason for the assumption that *earring* is the correct translation in these passages is that the rings seem to be for wearing by men, and all the evidence shows that nose-rings were only worn by women.

Three of the passages just dealt with (Genesis 35, 4, Exodus, 32, 2, 3, and Judges 8, 24) have an interest of their own as indicating that the rings described were associated with heathen practices or heathen peoples. In the first passage Jacob's household is purified by putting away strange gods and divesting themselves of their earrings. In the second passage earrings are melted down to make the golden calf which the Israelites worshipped sinfully in the wilderness. In the third passage, earrings are taken from the defeated Ishmaelites. It was considered natural that they should have golden earrings, because they traded for gold and silver, which they brought from Egypt and Arabia. Pliny (*Natural History* xi, 50) refers to the wearing of earrings by men of the East. There is said to be no such custom among the Bedawin (the descendants of the Ishmaelites) to day. The earrings seem to have been regarded as amulets. (See MOFFATT's translation and PEAKE's *Commentary on the Bible.*)

There are three passages where the meaning of the word might be either " earring " or " nosering " These are :–

Exodus 35, 22

" wayyābhō'ū hā'ᵃnāshīm al-hannāshīm kōl nᵉdhībh
lēbh hēbhī'ū ḥāḥ wānezem wᵉṭabba'ath wᵉkhūmāz kolkᵉlī zāhābh

"And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, and brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold" (A. V.)

"........... brooches and earrings and signet-rings and armlets, all jewels of gold" (R. V., which in the margin gives the alternative reading *nose-rings* for *earrings*).

Moffatt translates earrings.

In this passage there is another word *ḥāḥ*, here translated bracelets or brooches, which means usually a hook or ring put into the nose of animals such as the camel, and which may here mean nose-rings. It does not seem to be used for a human ornament elsewhere.

Proverbs 25, 12

"nezem zāhābh yaḥᵃli-khāthem mōkhiaḥ ḥākhām al-ōzen shōmā'ath"

"As an earring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, so is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear." (A. V.)

The Revised Version is the same, but gives the marginal alternative *nose-ring*.

"A golden earring, a necklace of rare gold, an apt word is like that." (Moffatt)

Here the context seems to provide a case for taking the meaning as *earring*, though nose-ring, as in the last passage, has the support of the Revised version margin.

Hosea 2, 13

"ūphāqadhtī 'ālehā eth-yᵉmē habb'ālīm 'ᵃsher taqṭīr lāhem watta'adh nizmāh wᵉhelyāthāh"

"And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels" (A. V.)

The Revised Version again has *nose-rings* as an alternative reading in the margin.

"....... decking herself with rings and jewels" (Moffatt)

In this last passage there is again a reference to heathen practices, popular religious ideas required certain ornaments for holy days (compare the Koran, Sura 20 verse 61 : on the day of ornament (i. e. the feast day be your meeting). There does not seem to be any evidence that nose-rings were regarded as amulets, but they may have been worn with other ornaments on holy days.

There remain four passages where the word *nezem* undoubtedly means nose-ring. In each of these the word is used along with the Hebrew word *'aph*, which means nose. They are:

Genesis 24, 47, Proverbs 11, 22, Isaiah 3, 21, Ezekiel 16, 12, Genesis 24, 47.

" wā'āsim hannezem al-'appāh "

" I put the ear-ring upon her face " (A. V.)

" .... the ring on her nose " (R. V. and MOFFATT).

" suspendi inaures ad ornamendam faciem eius " (Vulgate)

" kai perietheka aute ta enotia " (Septuagint)

Here the Septuagint, the Vulgate and the Authorised Version all continue to translate earring. They get out of the difficulty created by the presence of the word *'aph*, by translating it *face*, which is possible in some contexts. But it is unlikely here, and in any case could hardly stand for *ear*.

Ezekiel 16, 12

" wā'ettēn nezem al-appēkh wa'ᵉghilim al-oznāyikh "

" I put a jewel on the forehead, and earrings in thine ears " (A.V.) which also has *nose* as a marginal alternative for *forehead*).

" I put a ring upon thy nose, and earrings in thine ears " (R. V.) MOFFATT is similar.

" ed dedi inaurem super os tuum " (Vulgate)

The prophet is here describing the beauty that God has bestowed on Jerusalem, who is depicted as a false woman who has made evil use of the beauty and ornaments that have been given her. There is no doubt at all that a nose-ring is the ornament referred to. Another word *'ᵉghilim* is used for earrings.

Isaiah 3, 21

" haṭṭabbā'ōth wᵉnizmē hā'āph "

(The word preceding this is *hallᵉḥāshim* which means *charms* or *amulets* and is translated by the Authorised Version as *earrings*).

" The rings, and nose jewels " (A. V. and R. V.)

" signet-rings and nose-rings (MOFFATT)

" et annulos et gemmas in fronte pendentes " (Vulgate)

Here the Vulgate departs from its use of the word *inaures*, and translates by the nondescript word *gemmas*. It uses *inaures* to translate *hallᵉḥāshim* in the preceding verse. This is part of a catalogue of the ornaments worn by the proud women of Jerusalem, who Isaiah says will be made desolate for their pride and luxury.

Proverbs 11, 22

"nezem zāhābh b'aph ḥ'zīr ishshāh yāphā w'sārath ṭa'ām"

"As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion." (A. V. and R. V.)

The Revised Version gives *ring* in the margin as an alternative for *jewel*.

"a golden ring in the snout of a sow........" (MOFFATT)

"circulus aureus in naribus suis" (Vulgate)

"enotion en rini huos" (Septuagint)

Here the word is used humourously in a simile, but it must mean a nose-ring such as ladies wear, as it is in a nose, albeit a pig's nose. MOFFATT makes this clear by translating by the word *sow*. The Vulgate uses yet another word *circulus*, but the Septuagint sticks to *enotion*.

The passage in Genesis 84 tells us something more about the ring in question. In verse 22 it is described as–

"nezem zāhābh beqa' mishqālo" "a golden earring of half-a-shekel weight" (A. V.) "a golden ring" (R. V.) "a golden nose-ring weighing a quarter of an ounce" (MOFFATT). This ring was taken by Abraham's servant Eliezer to put on the nose of Rebecca, who was to become the wife of Isaac, Abraham's son.

The passages in which the word *nezem* undoubtedly means nose-ring do not all show a very favourable attitude to such ornament. This, and the places at which we find the word used, seem to indicate that the nose-ring was a foreign importation, or at any rate regarded as such from the fact that it was used by the heathen tribes with whom the Israelites were surrounded. Isaiah regards the use of nose-rings and other ornaments as symbolic of the pride of the women of Jerusalem, who are to be punished for that very fault and all their finery taken away. This prophecy was probably written about 735 B.C. and Isaiah was protesting against the state of affairs and in particular the luxury of Jerusalem at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz king of Judah. The prophecy of Ezekiel is later, probably at the time of the exile about 596 B.C. Here the nose-rings, with the crown and the earrings, are symbolical of the blessings which God has showered on Jerusalem. But Jerusalem has abused these bounties (verses 15 to 19) and they have been a snare to her; and as a punishment she will be carried away captive into Assyria.

The section of Genesis from which the first passage (Genesis 22) comes belongs to the so-called Jahwehistic narrative, the date of whose compilation must have been about 850 B.C. The reference to nose-rings must belong to this original writing of the story, or an even earlier tradi-

tion and not to the later period when the different parts of which the Pentateuch is made up were put together. It is thus earlier than the other passages just referred to and it is obvious that the giving of the nose-ring as a token is accepted as the natural thing. The story purports to belong to pre-Israelitish times, when the patriarchs were settling in Canaan and had not yet abandoned their nomadic existence. Their way of life may be said therefore to have been akin to that of the Bedawin, with whom they recognised their kinship in the story of the half-brothers Isaac and Ishmael. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Bedawin have kept the custom of using nose-rings to the present day. "The ornaments (of the Bedawin) are bracelets, collars, ear and nose-rings of gold, silver or silver-gilt." (BURTON, *Pilgrimage to Mecca,* page 376). The supposition is that as the Israelites became a settled people and their nobility grew more luxurious, the wearing of jewels was more and more confined to the rich, and was frowned upon by the stricter sort of religious people.

It does not look as if the origin of the wearing of the nose-ring is to be found among the Hebrews, but the custom might well have come to them from the ancestors they had in common with other Semitic peoples.

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18. Studies in the History of Hindu Festivals — Some Notes on the History of Divālī Festival*

(BETWEEN C. A. D. 50 AND 1945)

All festivals have a unifying influence in social and national life. Students of the cultural history of a nation must understand the genesis and development of these festivals and record their history with as much precision and detail as possible. The oldest living civilizations on this globe have contributed not a little to the growth of these festivals, which are a regular feature of national life. To whatever class of people these festivals may belong they have a peculiar human appeal. In India with its numerous religious beliefs we have quite a bewildering variety of religious and semi-religious festivals but unfortunately much of the writing[1] devoted to these festivals is of a descriptive type, in which no attempt is made to fathom the depths of available historical sources with a view to reconstructing any reliable history worth the name.

In 1916 one author who calls himself "*Ṛgvedī*" published a book called *History of Aryan Festivals*[2] (आर्यांच्या सणांचा इतिहास) in Marathi. This

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* Annals (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XXVI, pp. 219-262.

1. The provincial *Gazetteers* of India contain much useful information about many of these festivals but it is of a descriptive type. The history of each festival ought to be studied in the form of monographs as a preliminary to an encyclopaedic history of Indian Festivals. At present our knowledge of the history of festivals is rather nebulous. We cannot say when a particular festival originated and how it developed through centuries of our cultural history. Mere descriptions of the present-day festivals, howsoever enchanting, do not prove their antiquity as these descriptions are a mixture of legends and hear-say evidence with many regional variations, from which it is difficult to comprehend the origin and development of these festivals.

2. This book was published in Bombay. The Preface of the author is dated 3rd April 1916. This book appears to have enjoyed a wide popularity as will be seen from the *opinions* printed at the end of the volume. The author deals with such topics as—(1) Rise of Indian Astronomy, (2) Seasons, (3) Months, (4) *Adhikamāsa* (intercalary month), (5) Seven days of the week, (6) *Saṃvatsara-phala*, (7) different Śakas, (8) Seasonal Festivals and Historical Festivals (pp. 16–17), (9) *Saṃvatsara-Pratipadā*, (10) *Rāmanavamī*, (11) *Dolotsava*, (12) *Gaurī-Utsava*, (13) *Akṣayya-Tṛtīyā*, (14) *Paraśurāma-Jayantī*, (15) *Nṛsiṃha-Jayantī*, (16) *Gaṅgotsava* or *Daśaharā* (17) *Vaṭa-Sāvitrī*, (18) Mahā Ekādaśī (19) History of *Cāturmāsa*, (20) *Nāgapañcamī*, (21) *Maṅgalā-Gaurī*, (22) *Śrāvaṇī*, (23) *Povatī Paurṇimā*, (24) *Nārali-Paurṇimā*, (25) *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī*, (26) *Piṭhorī-Amāvāsyā*, (27) *Poḷā* or *Vṛṣabhotsava*, (28) *Haritālikā*, (29) *Gaṇeśa-Caturthī*, (30) *Ṛṣi-Pañcamī*, (31) *Jyeṣṭhā-Gaurī*, (32) *Vāmana-dvādaśī*, (33) *Ananta-Caturdaśī*, (34) *Mahālaya-Pakṣa*, (35) *Navarātra-Mahotsava*, (36) *Vijayā-daśamī*, (37) *Rāmalīlā*, (38) *Dīpāvali-Mahotsava* (धनत्रयोदशी or धनतेरस, नरकचतुर्दशी, लक्ष्मीपूजन), (39) *Balipratipadā*, (40) *Yama-dvitīyā*, (41) *Tulasī-vivāha*, (42) *Dhātrīpūjana*, (43) *Vaikuṇṭha-Caturdaśī*, (44) *Tripurī-Paurṇimā*, (45) *Campā-ṣaṣṭhī*, (46) *Datta-Jayantī*, (47) *Makara-Saṅkramaṇa*, (48) *Vasanta-Pañcamī*, (49) *Ratha-Saptamī*, (50) *Mahāśivarātra*, (51) *Phālguna-Utsava* or *Holī*.

is perhaps the only book in Marathi which devotes no less than about 370 pages to the study of Hindu festivals but even here one fails to find any history as such of each festival which has governed the life of our ancestors for hundreds of years. This attempt is, however, praise-worthy as it is perhaps the only conscious effort to meet a long-felt want about the history of our festivals. In dealing with each festival the author records valuable information about its currency in different regions of India, the ritual connected with it and the present manner of its celebration. The remarks of the author on the historical background of each festival are suggestive but not comprehensive for want of fully documented study about its origin and development. The author tells us in his Preface that his book is not written for the learned reader. All the same we must thank him for this pioneer [1] attempt, which is sufficiently conscientious and learned within the limitations under which he had to work and thus provide a readable account of Hindu or Aryan festivals as they are observed in India in the different months of one Hindu year.

According to Ṛgvedi the Hindu foestivals can be roughly classified [2] as follows :—

1. I must not fail to mention here a still earlier book on Hindu festivals. This is called "*Hindu Holidays*" by Balaji Sitaram Kothare, printed at the Times Press, Bombay, 1904, pages 100. The author contributed his articles on this subject to the *Times of India* in the years 1900 and 1901 and these have been presented in a book-form with the above title. About festivals the author rightly observes :— "The life of a nation is best depicted by the description given of its festivals, and the Hindus, being a civilized nation from remote antiquity have had their own holidays both to create and express joy. Hero-worship, religious devotion, social enjoyments, and the observance of particular rites and ceremonies with definite object in view such as preservation of women from widowhood, freedom from the guilt of committing heinous crimes, the preservation of children from death in infancy, the acquisition of wealth, the restoration of lost power, fortune or kingdom, the remembrance, worship or feeding of the departed spirits of ancestors have their characteristic holidays."— The book deals briefly with the account of the following Holidays :— (1) *Gudi Padva, Ramanavami*, (2) *Hanuman Jayanti*, (3) *Vata Pornima*, (4) *Ashadi Ekadashi*, (5) *Nag Panchami*, (6) *Cocoanut Day*, (7) *Janma* and *Gokul Ashtami*, (8) *Pithori Amavasia*, (9) *Ganesh Chaturthi*, (10) *Gauri*, (11) *Vaman Dwadashi*, (12) *Anant Chaturdashi*, (13) *Hindu anniversary Days*, (14) *Navaratra Festival*, (15) *Dasara*, (16) *Kojagari Pornima*, (17) *Dewali*, (18) *Four Hindu Holidays*, (19) *Datta Jayanti*, (20) *Makara Sankrant*, (21) *Mahashivaratra*, (22) *Holi Festival*.

2. This classification is good enough so far as it goes. It is only after a thorough historical study of each festival is recorded that an accurate classification can be given. As regards the ritual and belief connected with some of the Hindu festivals see *Keys of Power* by J. Abbott (Methuen & Co., London, 1932). I note some points from this book about the *Divali*:— *Divali*, 204–205; maidens wave *arti* at *D.*, 68, 183, Impression of hand made on cattle at *D.* 132; Oil applied to the body at *D.* 159; Lights waved before cattle at *D.* 181; Foot-prints drawn at *D.* 146; Worship of implements at *D.* 230; Manavadi days during D. 252; use of red water at D. 282; Seed drill dressed in garments of a woman at *D.* 357; Worship of Lakṣmī on the threshing at D. 362; Pole of the threshing-floor cut at D. 370; Grinding forbidden at D. 480.-It would be useful to study the history and chronology of these practices from datable sources, Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit.

(1) *Festivals originating from Ṛtus or Seasons :—*
संवत्सर प्रतिपदा, अक्षय्यतृतीया, चातुर्मास श्रावणी, नारळी पौर्णिमा, विजयादशमी, दीपावळी, धात्रीपूजन, मकरसंक्रांत, वसंतपंचमी, होळी व शिमगा.

(2) *Historical (Aitihāsika) Festivals:—*
श्रीरामनवमी, परशुरामजयंती, दसरा, कृष्णजन्माष्टमी, वामनद्वादशी ?

(3) *Śaiva Festivals :—*
त्रिपुरी पौर्णिमा, महाशिवरात्र.

(4) *Vaiṣṇava Festivals :—*
नृसिंहजयन्ती, महाएकादशी, अनंतचतुर्दशी, वैकुंठचतुर्दशी, दोलोत्सव.

(5) *Kauṭumbika Festivals: —*
वटसावित्री, मंगळागौरी, पिठोरी अमावास्या, हरितालिका, ऋषिपंचमी.

(6) *Śākta Festivals :—*
गौरी-उत्सव, ज्येष्ठागौरी, ललितापंचमी, सरस्वती, देवी नवरात्र, चंपाषष्ठी (?)

(7) Saura Festivals :— रथसप्तमी.

(8) Gāṇapatya Festivals :— गणेशचतुर्थी.

For studying the regional variations in the celebration of different Hindu festivals one must get first-hand information about these festivals from the residents of the different regions, where these festivals are observed. In the absence of this information we can get some information about them in the Provincial Gazetteers, [1] some of which were written in a scholarly manner and hence may serve as a useful starting point for a historical study of the different festivals as they show the currency or otherwise of these festivals in different regions, where some of the old traditions have been preserved. We must, however, go from

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1. The *Bombay Gazetteer* contains the following references to *Divāli* holidays :— Vol. IX, pt. 1, 23, note 5, 54, 82, 119, 151, 170, 173, 175, 178, 303, 305, 306, 316, 336; Festival days among Bhils, id, pp. 305–306; Fire-worship on *id* 357; Days for settling accounts by traders *id*, 82; Period best suited to subject evil spirits, IX, pt. ii, 145; Hindu New year considered an evil spirit time, *id*, 148; Buddhist Holidays XIV, 145; among Pātāne Prabhus, XVIII, pt. 1, 251–258; among Kunbis, *id*, 294–295.

The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* contains some references to *Divāli* (see IV, 607 a; *Ahir*, I, 232b, 233 a: *Bhil*, II, 555b ; *Dewars*, V 3a ; *Dravidian*, V, 3a, 14a, 19ab ; *Paeras* V, 19b, *Sacrifice*, V, 14a,) — The description of *Dravidian* Divāli (V, 19ab) has the following features:—

(1) *Lights* are used probably as a means of expelling evil spirits.
(2) *Sacrifice* of goats and fowls before stones, painted red after bringing them from a neighbouring river-bed.
(3) *Dancing* and feasting attended with lighted torches.
(4) Cattle are decorated with colour and garlands and a figure of the cattle-god *Balindra* is made and kept in the cow-shed.
(5) Procession of the fiercest bull and the swiftest heifer through the village— Any lad who can snatch a garland from the bull or heifer is considered a fit match for the best girl in the neighbourhood.

the present to the past and thus try to study when and how the details of these festivals have originated and thus enriched the social, religious and cultural life of India.

In his article [1] on *Divali-Folklore* Mr. B. A. Gupte observes: — "Holidays in all countries have their folklore, and the *Divāli* of India is no exception. The greater the number of folk-tales, the higher the stage of development in the society, and the greater the interest we find attached to the evolution of the festivities." Mr. Gupte then records half a dozen different folk notions, of which No. V is as follows :—

"The fifth idea has a *historical* basis. It is that King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, a scion of the Gupta race was crowned on this day, the 16th of Aśvin and counted his era accordingly. This is thus a New year's day." From the multiplicity of accounts of the origin of *Divāli* Mr. Gupte discloses the following points :— (1) the change of the season, (2) the death of the rice-crop harvest, (3) the time of manuring the soil for the second crop, (4) the Sun reaching Libra, the Seventh sign of the Zodiac, (5) the coronation of Rāma, and (6) the selection of this coronation day for the conventional coronation and eramaking day of Vikramāditya, the last of the Guptas. In the Plate of *Divāli Drawings* (drawn by women from the 8th day of the 2nd half of *Āśvin* to *Divāli*) accompanying Mr. Gupte's article we find the following symbols :— (1) Temple ascribed to *Lakṣmī* Nārāyaṇa, (2) the Sun, (3) the Moon, (4) hanging lamps, (5) *Śaṅkha* Shell, (6) the mace, (7) the lotus, (8) the wheel, (9) the *Svastika*, (10) the *Śeṣa* or thousand-hooded cobra, (11) the cow's foot-prints, (12) sparrows, (13) the mango, (14) the bel (wood-apple) tree and (15) the foot-prints of Lakṣmī. According to Mr. Gupte "the presence of sparrows at harvest time, the position of the threshing floor usually near a shady tree, and the incoming realization of the sale-proceeds (wealth) as expressed by the foot-prints are significant. This is perhaps *the most primitive origin of the festival.*"

In the *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903, pp. 208-209) we get some foreign notices of *Divāli* from *A. D. 1613* onwards. I reproduce here these notices with the remarks of the editors :—

Dewally, S. H. *diwalī*, from Skt, *dīpa-ālikā*, 'a row of lamps' i. e. an illumination. An autumnal feast attributed to the celebration of various divinities, as of *Lakshmī* and of *Bhavānī*, and also in honour of Krishna's slaying of the demon *Naraka*, and the release of 16000 maidens, his prisoners. It is held on the last two days of the dark half of the month of

1 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 237-239 (May 1903).

Āśvin or *Āśan* and on the new moon and four following days of *Kārttika* i. e usually some time in October. But there are variations of Calendar in different parts of India and feasts will not always coincide e.g. at the three Presidency towns nor will any curt expression define the dates. In Bengāl, the name *Diwālī* is not used, it is *Kālī Pūjā*, the feast of that grim goddess, a midnight festival on the most moonless nights of the month, celebrated by illuminations and fireworks. on land and river, by feasting, carousing, gambling and sacrificing of goats, sheep and buffaloes.

A. D. 1613 — " *Divaly* "

— *Godinho de Eredia, f. 38* v.

A. D. 1623 — " October the *four* and *twentieth* was the *Dawāli* or the feast of the Indian Gentiles "

—*P. Della Valle*, Hak Soc. ii, 206.

A. D. 1651 — " In the month of *October* eight days after the full moon there is a feast held in honour of Vistnou which is called *Dipāwali*

—*A. Rogerius, De Open-Deure.*

A. D. 1671 — " In *October* they begin their year with great feasting, Jollity, sending presents to all they have any busyness with, which time is called *Dually* " —*Hedges Diary*, Hak. Soc. ii, cccxiv.

A. D. 1673 — " The first New Moon in *October* is the Banyan's *Dually* " *Fryer*, 110.

A. D. 1690 — " .... their Grand Festival Season called *Dually* Time " *Ovington*, 401.

A. D. 1820 — " The *Dewalee, Deepaullee* or Time of Lights takes place 20 days after the *Dussera* and lasts three days; during which there is feasting, illumination, and *fireworks* "

—*T. Coats* in Tr. *Lit. Soc. Bo.*, ii, 211.

A. D. 1843 —" *Nov. 5* The *Diwali* happening to fall on this day, the whole river was bright with lamps........Ever and anon some votary would offer up his prayers to *Lakshmi the Fortuna* and launch a tiny raft bearing a cluster of lamps into water,—then watch it with fixed and anxious gaze. If it floats on till the far distance hides it thrice happy he........but if, caught in some wild eddy of the stream it disappears at once, so will the bark of his fortunes be engulphed in the whirl pool of adversity. "

—*Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, 84.

A. D. 1883 — " The *Diwali* is celebrated with splendid effect at *Benares*.......At the approach of nights small earthen lamps, fed with oil, are prepared by millions, and placed quite close together so as to mark

out every line of mansion, palace, temple, minaret and dome in streaks of fire" —*Monier Williams, Religious Thought and Life in India*, 432.

E. W. Hopkins in his article on *Hindu Festivals and Fasts* in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 1912 (Vol. V, pp. 867–871) classifies Hindu festivals as follows :—

(i) *Ancient Festivals:—*

(1) Moon-festival (seasonal).
(2) 'Four-month celebration' (seasonal).
(3) Ceremony of First-fruits.
(4) Soma-sacrifice.
(5) Consecration Ceremony.
(6) Horse-sacrifice.
(7) Solstice-feast.
(8) Twelve nights' Celebration.
(9) Sacrifices at *tīrthās* by pilgrims.

(ii) *Modern Festivals :—* These festivals are new in effect, though old in general character.

(1) *Lamp Festival (Divālī)*— The rites in honour of one god have passed over to another without materially altering the celebration and sometimes even to-day the same celebration is held in honour of different gods. Thus the very pleasing *lamp-festival* in which, in autumn, lamps are lighted in every direction, floating lamps are set off down rivers etc., is celebrated by some as a festival in honour of Viṣṇu's wife, and by others in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva — Modern festivals have thrown off Brahmanism as far as possible, and are more clearly celebrations of the seasons, devoid of priestly ritual and self-sufficient.

(2) *Spring Festival* of Northen India (*Holi*) — Between the old and new there must have been a large number of special festivities now lost sight of, or only faintly reflected in intermediate literature — not to speak of many special festivities in honour of gods and goddesses described in the mediaeval Purāṇic and Tāntric literature. — Some of the modern festivals are both Sectarian and Seasonal — In the devil-frightening festival viz. the "lamp-festival" (*Divālī*) the original intent of the celebration is merged in the worship of some modern deity.

(3) *Makarasaṅkrānti* and others —

That there were many festivals not included under the screen of religious rites in ancient times may be taken for granted and this is supported by external evidence. — Many of the Hindu festivals have a counterpart in those of other races.

It is clear from the above grouping of Hindu festivals that the *Divālī* or 'lamp-festival' is a *modern festival* according to Hopkins,[1] who however, does not say when it originated and developed its numerous features as we see them to-day.

In the above volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* there is an article by Margaret Stevenson on *Jain Festivals and Fasts* (pp. 875–879). In this article she describes the *Diwālī* of the Jains as follows :—

" Next to *Pajjusaṇa* the greatest of all the Jain sacred seasons is *Diwālī*. If the former owes its importance to the emphasis which the Jains lay on the sin of killing, *Diwālī* derives its position from the *importance of wealth to a mercantile community*, the Jains. The Jains assign a special reason for their participation in what is *really a Hindu festival in honour of Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth. They say it *originated when Mahāvīra passed to mokṣa* and the eighteen confederate Kings and others who were present at his passing instituted an *illumination* saying : *Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter* (see *Kalpa Sūtra, Sacred Books of the East*, xxii 266).

The festival continues for *four days*, the last days of *Āśvina* which close the Hindu year and the *first of Kārttika*–falling usually within the months of *October* or *November*. Among the Śvetāmbara Jains the *first day* (*Dhanteras*) of the festival is devoted to polishing jewellery and ornaments in honour of Lakṣmī on the *second day* (*Kālīchaudasa*) the women try to *propitiate evil spirits* by giving them some of the sweet-

1. Hopkins records the following *Literature* pertaining to Hindu *Festivals and Fasts*:—
   (1) *H. H. Wilson* : *Select Works*, ii, London, 1892, Ch. iv. " Religious Festivals of the Hindus. "
   (2) *Natesa Sastri* : *Hindu Feasts, Fasts and Ceremonies*, Madras, 1903.
   (3) *W. J. Wilkins* : *Modern Hinduism*, Calcutta, 1900.
   (4) *Monier Williams* : *Hinduism*, London, 1877.
   (5) *F. K. Ginzel* : *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, ii. 1, 310–402.
   (6) *E. W. Hopkins* : *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895 (previous literature cited on pp. 448 and 592).
   (7) *J. C. Oman* : *Brahmans, Theists and Muslems of India*, London, 1907. (esp. p. 241 ff., The Holi Festival.
   (8) *A. Hillebrandt* : Die Sonnwendfeste in Alt-Indien ' in *Roman Forschungen*, V. (1889) 299-340 and *Vedische Opfer und Zauber*. Strassburg, 1897 (= *GIAP*, iii, 2.)
   (9) *B. Lindner* : Das ind. *Ernteopfer*, in *Festgruss an Böhtlingk*, Stuttgart, 1888, pp. 79–81.
   (10) *J. Jolly* : *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GIAP* ii, 8).

meats they prepare and cook on this day. These they place in a circle at cross-roads (q. v.) in order to protect their children from evil influences during the year. The *third* (*Amāsa*) is the *great day of the feast.* It was *on this day* that *Mahāvīra went to Mokṣa* and *Gautama Indrabhūti attained to Kaivalya.* This is the day on which Jains worship their account-books and decorate and illuminate their houses. In the morning Jains of all three sects go to their monasteries and convents and do reverence to the chief monk or nun present, who preaches to them on the life of Mahāvīra and sings appropriate songs. The more devout lay people stay and do *posaha*, but the generality go home and make up their accounts for the year. In the evening they summon a Brāhman to direct the *Śāradā Pūjā* or worship of the account-books, for Brāhmans are still the domestic chaplains of the Jains. The Jain having arranged his account-book on a stool, the Brāhman enters and paints a *chāndalo* (auspicious mark) on the Jain's fore-head, his pen and one page of the account-book. He then writes the word *Śrī* (i. e. *Lakṣmī*) on the account-book, either five, seven or nine times in such a way as to form a pyramid. A rupee (the oldest possible) is now placed on the book ; this rupee for the time being, is considered to be *Lakṣmī* herself and the placing of it is called *Lakṣmī-pūjā*. All the year the owner will carefully guard this particular coin as it is considered luck-bringing, and will use it again next *Diwālī*, so that in some Jain families the coin used is of great rarity and antiquity. Besides the coin, the leaf of a creeper is also placed on the account-book and the Jain waves a little lamp filled with burning camphor before the book, on which he has placed rice, *pān*, betel-nut, turmeric and various kinds of fruit. The ceremony ends by sprinkling the books with red powder after which the Brāhman and the Jain feast on sweetmeats. The account-book is left open for several hours and before closing it they say : *Lakṣa lābha, Lakṣa lābha*, i.e. a hundred thousand profits.

The fourth and the last day of *Diwālī*, New-year's Day, is the first day of the month of *Kārttika* and of the commercial year; and the Jains then go and greet all their friends much as we might on our New year's Day and send cards to those who are absent. "

If the *Jaina Diwālī* originated with the death of Lord Mahāvīra for which B. C. 528-7 is one of the traditionary dates [1] we can definitely say that it is about 2400 years old. Can we establish the antiquity of the *Hindu Diwālī* for such a period and also prove the exact starting point of

1. Vide p. 46 of *Early History of India* by Vincent Smith, Oxford, 1914, and p. 616 of *Madhyayugīna-Caritra-Kośa* by S. Chitrava Shastri, Poona, 1937. (Annals B. O. R. I).

its history? It is exactly for answering this question on the strength of documentary evidence that I have undertaken the present study. I shall, therefore, try to establish the antiquity of the *Hindu Divālī* as far back as documentary evidence can take it leaving it to other investigators to improve upon my labours and give us a conclusive history and chronology of this most popular Hindu festival.

In view of the close parallelism between the *Hindu Divālī* and the *Jain Divālī* we are tempted to ask the following questions:—

(1) Which is the older of the two Divālīs—*Jain* or *Hindu*?

(2) Is it possible to suppose that the older of these two *Divālīs* has influenced the younger one?

These questions cannot be answered satisfactorily unless we have reconstructed the history of both these *Divālīs*. I shall, therefore, record in this paper some data which would reveal to a certain extent the historical background of these *Divālīs* but before I do so I shall record a detailed description of the Hindu or Brahmanical Dīvāli as given by Margaret Stevenson in her book *Rites of the Twice-Born* (Religious Quest of India Series), London, 1920, pp. 335-340. This description reads as follows:—

The great *Feast of Lamps* (*Dīpāvalī, Dīpālī* or *Divālī* occupies the last three days of the Indian year (the 13th, 14th and 15th of the dark half of the month of *Āśvina*) which are sacred to Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth.

The *first* of these three days (the *Day of wealth-worship*, Guj. *Dhana-terasa*) is extremely auspicious. Indeed so invariably auspicious it is, that no astrologer need be consulted about a child being put to school for the first time that day, a move being undertaken, newly married brides being sent to their husband's homes, or gold being given out to a goldsmith to fashion into jewellery.

As a rule, before this day there is bustle and stir, excursions and alarums in every Twice-born home, for the houses have to be whitewashed throughout and decorated, the compound cleaned and the square before the door replastered and marked with a *Svastika* in chalk and coloured powder, and all the metal vessels, polished till they shine like gold, have to be arranged in glittering rows round the rooms in the ladies' part of the house; all the ornaments, gold and silver, have similarly to be cleaned and, if necessary sent to the goldsmith's for repair; and all the bills called in and paid. Every old-fashioned house-hold has its own tailor, washerman and goldsmith, whose dues are paid once a year now at *Divālī*;

for not one single debt may be left outstanding. This is the time too when new vessels and new cloth are first taken into use. Old-fashioned people, who do not trust in such new-fangled things as banks, take out their hoardings on this day, wash them in milk and worship them. A fine old chief in one part of India regularly worships a thousand gold *mohurs* on this day. He puts them all into a huge copper-dish, pours water over them and offers them the full sixteen-fold worship, giving alms to Brahmans at the close. All three days the children let off crackers, and help to illuminate their homes by putting lights on the gates. But on this first day the boys tie white strings and clips to the end of sticks to make buzzers (Guj. *Bhambuḍā*).

These they whirl over their heads, so that their buzzing may frighten the cows. Any dust these animals kick up on this day is considered specially sacred, so the boys go and stand in the perfect dust-storm caused by the stampeding cows running away from the buzzers, and so acquire virtue without a trace of boredom !

The women with their spring cleaning finished, cook specially nice food and wear their best clothes. The houses not only of the Twice-born but of all the *Hindus* and also of *Jainas* and *Pārsis*, are illuminated, and there is universal rejoicing in the fact that all debts are paid, the harvest garnered and the rainy season over, so that every one seems happy, and the entire holiday is a festival of light-heartedness. Far different will be the following night !

The morning after the Day of Wealth-worship is still a time of gladness and rejoicing (*Rūpa Caturdaśi, The Day of Beauty*). Men and women get up early take extra pains over their toilet, and wear their finest clothes. Every one is dressed before six, and they all have great fun calling on different friends, break-fasting with them and eating special dainties.

But the *Witches Night* (*Kāla Rātri*) that follows is a parlous time, the most hag-haunted season of the whole year, for then all the evil ghosts of the wicked or of those who have died violent deaths, and the terrifying spectres of women who have died in child-birth, come out and walk the streets. But besides these black malignant spirits ordinary ghosts, demons, ghosts, wraiths and witches are also abroad. All through the year rash fools who wished to meet ghosts could find them after night fall when they haunt cemeteries and burning-grounds, or in the particular trees where they dwell, but on this 14th night of the dark of the moon of *Āśvina* they are not confined within their usual limits, but move freely, wherever they please.

So all wise people bide at home if they possibly can, especially if, like women or children, they are also very timid.

Hanumān, the special guardian against ghosts, has, you may be sure, more than the usual number of worshippers this night, who pour oil and red lead over him and offer him coco-nuts. In return his devotees take some of the oil that drips from his right foot, burn it with soot, and mark their eyes with it, for this not only ensures their being under the special protection of the god for the year, but also improves their sight for the same period.

Other people quiet the ghosts by making circles where four roads meet and put cakes of grain and pulse fried together in oil within the circle, and Indians of other than the Twice-born castes would worship certain mother goddesses within these circles.

Venturesome men who know the right *mantras* for laying ghosts sometimes try and get control over spirits on this night and go alone to the burning grounds. There they make a circle, either with cold iron or with water and sit carefully within its bounds keeping some pulse of a special kind (*Phaseolus radiatus*) near them.

All sorts of ghosts, ghouls, demons, fiends, and witches attack the man. If they come too near, he throws the pulse at them, and this frightens them off; and as long as he keeps a brave heart and repeats the right *mantras* 108 times without stumbling, all goes well, and he is their absolute master for the ensuing year; but if he steps outside the circle before the day dawns, or if for one moment during the terrible ordeal his heart fails him and he blenches, or if he stumbles as he repeats a *mantra*, he is in the fiends' power for ever.

Other Indians, such as Kolis, Bhils, and the low-castes go down on this night to the desolate places where corpses are burnt and making similar circles, burn within them as sacrifices to terrible mother goddesses, such as *Mahākāli* or *Bhairavi*, or *Melaḍi*, offerings of evil forbidden food, spirits and meat and give them a *Sāri* of ceremony and bangles to wear.

If inspite of all her fears, a woman has to go outside her house on this terrifying night, she walks very carefully, for there are circles drawn in every street and if she so much as put her foot inside one, an evil spirit will take possession of her. If, by some mischance, this terrible catastrophe does happen to her, she knows it, and so do her friends, by her constant shaking. Sometimes the woman herself says who the ghost is, how it came, and how to get rid of it.

The last day of the three is the greatest of all the *Divāli* days. In the morning children get up early, bathe as soon as they are dressed, and let off crackers to their heart's content. The children have had a fine time all three days, for their elders believe that, if the children are indulged and kept happy in every possible way, the year will bring good fortune to both parents and children, you may be sure, make the most of so congenial a creed !

On this last day they take a cake of cow-dung, thrust in it a piece of sugar-cane for a holder and arrange on the cow-dung a tiny earthen lamp, in which a wick floating on sweet oil is kept burning. Carrying this light (Guj. *Meriyum*) the children go round from house to house begging oil for their lamp, that their dead ancestors may get light.

Their elders spend the morning in meeting and entertaining their friends and preparing for what is the main ceremony of the three days, holiday, the *Worship of the Account-books*, by putting bigger lamps than ever in the windows of their houses, for this night the illuminations must be " gorgeous and grand. " All the old accounts must be closed and the new ones opened, in preparation for the worship.

The astrologer fixed the exact moment for this all important rite to be performed.

The new account book is opened and on its third leaf a Brāhman writes the word *Śrī* (i. e. *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth) over and over again in such a way as to form a pyramid of the syllable *Śrī*.

In the centre of this pyramid a betel-leaf is placed, and on it a current rupee, the newer the better.

The five-fold worship is offered by the presiding Brāhman to the account-book still open at this page, concluding with *ārati*, and at the end the food offered is distributed to visitors and alms are given to the Brāhman, who in turn blesses his host, saying ; May you be happy all the year. "

Then as an omen, the rupee from the account-book is tossed up, and if it falls with a clear ringing sound, it is a lucky presage for the new year.

Afterwards every one gathers round to eat sugar and grain, sends trays of it to friends and lets off crackers.

The account-book is kept open all night with a lamp burning beside it, and early in the morning the Brāhman returns. His host says to him three times : "*Lakṣa Lābha*" (a hundred thousand profits) and the

Brāhman replies: May you have a hundred and twenty-five thousand profits" and shuts the account-book.

All night long every one in the house has kept awake and with the dawning of the new year they sally forth to wish their friends all happiness."

My object in reproducing the above description of the *Divālī* in extenso is two-fold: *Firstly* it will enable my readers to compare it with the descriptions of the *Divālī*, as current in the other regions of India and greater India, which may not have come under the direct observation of Mrs. Stevenson; *Secondly* it will enable research scholars to see if any of the features of the *Divālī* celebration mentioned in this description have any early history for them and whether such history can be proved on documentary evidence of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources. In studies pertaining to the culture of any nation the details of any feature of this culture are most important and need to be recorded with meticulous care so that they may give us as comprehensive a picture of this culture as possible on the strength of present observation and past history, backed up by historical sources pertaining to different regions and periods. Every modern feature may not have any long history for it but it is possible to trace the history of some essential features of a festival to ancient times.

We have recorded the descriptions of the *Hindu* and *the Jain Divālī* so far. Now let us record a description of the *Divāli* as observed in Greater India by people with Buddhist persuasion. In this connection some interesting information is found in the account of *Siamese Festivals and Fasts* by G. E. Gerini (Vide pp. 885-890 of *Ency. of Reli. and Ethics*, Vol. V) who informs us that Siamese festivals are traceable, as a rule, to either Brahmanism or Buddhism. These two creeds were introduced into Siam at a very early date and consequently Brahmanic and Buddhist rites were introduced into most of the national festivals and ceremonies. Speaking of the festivals observed in Siam in the month of *Kārttika* Mr. Gerini notes (1) the *Feasts of lamps* which is a counterpart of Hindu *Divāli* or *Dīpāvali* and (2) the *Kārttikeya Festival*, which is a state ceremony recently abolished, in honour of Kārttikeya (or Skanda, the Hindu Mars, son of Śiva) and which is attended with the *floating of lamps*, and *bon-fires*. The *Siamese Divāli* is described by Mr. Gerini as follows :-

" *No. 20. Feast of lamps (Karttika, 12th* month) – This embraces *two distinct festivals* (1) the hoisting of *lamps on poles* on *new-moon day* and the lighting of them at night, till the second day of the waning, when they are lowered; (2) the *floating of lamps* in the streams at night on the

14th, 15th and *16th* days of the moon, with the eventual addition of *fire-works*. This second form of illumination seems however, to be connected more especially with the festival hereafter explained (No. 21). On the other hand the *aerial lanterns* hoisted on poles, as aforesaid, are kept burning to scare away goblins as in time of epidemics (cf. e. g. the *rakṣā-pradipas*, and, it is believed, also to retain the water from draining off the paddy fields, for the ears of rice would not attain maturity if the yearly inundation were to abate so early. Hence the festival is a very popular one like its counterpart the *Diwālī* or *Dipāwali* in India. They closely correspond although the *ākāśapradipas* (lamps raised on poles in the air) are in India lighted in honour of *Lakṣmī*. We have here to do essentially with a festival in honour of Viṣṇu and his consort, for it is known that on the 11th day of the new moon of Kārttika the god awakes from his four months sleep, and that his victory over king Bali (*Vāmana avatāra*) took place at this season."

Mr. Gerini does not record any history of the Siamese festivals, hence it is difficult to say at what time the Dīvāli festival originated in Siam and continued to be observed somewhat on the lines of the Hindu Divāli. If the Siamese *Divāli* is a counterpart of the Hindu Divāli, its history is dependent on the history of the Hindu or Brahmanical Divālī, which we want to reconstruct in this paper.

Resuming now our reconstruction of the history of the Hindu Divāli, I have to record here an interesting account of the Divālī Festival as recorded in a Maratha chronicle [1] which states:—

"Mahadji Scindia (*A. D. 1787–1794*) informed Peshwa Savai Mādhavarao (*A. D. 1774–1795*) as follows:—

"The Divālī festival is celebrated for 4 days at *Koṭā*,[2] when lacs of lamps are lighted. The Raja of *Koṭā* during these 4 days gives a display of fire-works outside the premises of his capital. It is called "दारूची लंका" or "*Laṅkā of fire-works.*" During this display the image of *Rāvaṇa* is prepared and kept in the centre of the show. Images of *Rākṣasas*, monkeys and a big image of *Hanūmān* are all prepared of gunpowder.[3] The tale of *Hanūmān* is then set fire to, and Hanūmān begins to fly in the air, setting

1. पेशव्यांची बखर by Krishnaji Vinayak Sohoni, ed. by K. N. Sane, A. B. Press, Poona, 1925, Page 149 (I have rendered the pertinent extract into English from the Marathi original). The author of this *Bakhar* was possibly born during the reign of Peshwa Savai Mādhava Rao (Vide p. 266 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrava, Poona, 1937).

2. Modern *Kotah* State in Rajputāna.

3. Vide my paper on *Guns and Gun—powder in India—A. D. 1400 onwards* in *Sir Denison Ross Volume*, ed. by P. K. Gode and S. M. Katre, pp. 117–124.

fire to various houses in this *Laṅkā* of fireworks. Such a display is given by the Raja of *Koṭā* during the Divāli Festival."

The Peshwa ordered Mahādji to give a similar display of fire-works for his entertainment. Mahādji made all preparations within 15 days and the display was carried out on a dark night before the Peshwa and his Sardars. The display took place at the foot of the *Parvati* hill and was witnessed by the Peshwa and his Sardars from the *Parvati* temple. It was a grand performance and was witnessed by the people of Poona in large numbers."

The use of fire-works in the celebration of the *Divāli*, which is so common in India now, must have come into existence after about 1400 A. D., when gun-powder came to be used in Indian war-fare. It is necessary to record the history of the use of fire-works in Divāli celebrations prior to the Peshwa period.

In the references to *Divāli* in the *Hobson-Jobson* the earliest notice of the *Divāli* by a foreign observer is dated *A. D. 1613*. Let us now go backwards from this date. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* [1] (about *A. D. 1590*) there is an account of *Festivals* in which we find the *Divāli* described as follows :—

" *Month of Kārtika* — The second, ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals. The *thirteenth* is the *Dipāli* or row of lamps (Hind. *Diwālī*). A difference occurs in the calculation of its date. According to the *Śukla-pakṣa* computation it is as above stated but by the *Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa* (Hind. *Aghan*-Nov. - Dec.) and they, therefore, hold this festival on the 15th of *Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa* of *Kārttika*. Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammadan) festival of *Shāb-i-barāt*. It begins on the 29th and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it. It is the greatest of the festivals re. the Vaisya caste."[2]

Emperor Akbar " participated in the celebration of *Dipāvali* or *Divāli*, the festival of lamps " (*Ain*, I, 216). [3]

From the 16th century we may now go to the *15th century* and see how the *Hindu Divāli* was celebrated within the jurisdiction of the Vijayanagar empire. In this connection Dr. B. A. Saletore has collected and recorded the following information about *Festivals, Games and amusements* in his volumes on *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire* (1934). In Vol. II (p. 387) he observes as follows :—

1. Ed. by Jarrett, Vol. II, 1894, Page 330.
2. " It is auspicious for all undertakings connected with commerce. "
3. Vide p. 319 of *Ind Histo. Quarterly*, XIII (June, 1937).

"Another celebration which evoked admiration from foreign travellers was the *Dīpāvali* festival held in the month of *Kārttika*. This commemorates the victory which Viṣṇu scored against the Asuras and Narakāsuras and since as they say it was won in the evening there is universal illumination of houses and temples in the land.[1]

Conti thus describes the *Dīpāvali* festival:— "On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside of the roofs an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni which are kept burning day and night."[2]

People gave contributions to the temples also for the celebration of these festivals. In about *A. D. 1448* Govaṇṇa and Baḷḷaṇa sons of Śrīraṅga Deva of Araṇipura in Kaḍalūr made a grant for the *caitra festival of lights* in the temple of Channakeśvara according to former custom.[3] An inscription dated Śaka 1443 (*A. D. 1521–22*) informs us that Sadāśiva Nāyaka provided ghee for *lamps* during the *festival of Tirukkāratigai* to the temple of Bṛhadambā at Devikkapuram for the merit of the chief (svāmī) Tirumalai Nāyaka.[4] In Śaka 1444 (1522–23) the daughter of Kannaḍiya Chief Devappuḍaiyar Marudarśar-Padaiviḍū gave a gift of ghee for the same festival to the same temple."[5]

The inscriptional evidence about donations given by certain individuals for the expense of festival of lights or mere lights[6] in temples of specific gods and goddesses does not appear to refer to *Divāli* festival as such.[7] Conti's description of *Divāli* at Vijayanagar is, however, sufficient for our purpose.

1. Śrī Kantaliyar, *I A*, XX, p. 430; Suryanarayan Rao, *The City*, p. 11. For an account of the *Dīpāvali* Festival. Wilson, *IA*. XXVI. p. 308; Gupte, *IA*, XXXII, pp. 237–239.
2. Major India, p. 28; Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 86.
3. *E. C.* V. p. 1, Hn. 82, p. 25.
4. 361 of 1912; Rangachari. Top. List I. N. A. 162, p. 49.
5. 362 of 1912; Rangachari, *ibid.* N. A. 163, p. 50. Read Pietro della Valle's description.
6. On p. 115 of his *Purāṇic Records* (Dacca, 1940) Dr. Hazra observes:— "The inscriptional evidences show that the gifts of *lamps to shrines* became popular in Southern India about the *end of the 9th century A. D.* [*Ep. Ind.* III, 1894-95, pp. 281, 284; V, 42–44 and 104-106; VII (1902-03) 133 ff. and 136 ff. and so on. *JASB*, LXXII (1903) 120].
7. My friend M. M. Principal V. V. Mirashi writes to me on 23-7-1945:—

" As for *Divāli* ... ... The one description that I can just now recall occurs in an inscription found in *Chhattisgarh*. It is not dated but another inscription of the same reign is dated V. S. 1570 (= *A. D. 1514*). The inscription is not published but I have read the verse as follows:—

"यस्सम्यक् प्रतिकार्त्तिकम्प्रतिदिने स्नात्वा ददात्यादरा –
द्रोदानंश्च ततः शृणोति महितं पुण्यं पुराणादिकम् ।
दीपानामपि लक्षमक्षयफलप्राप्त्यै प्रयच्छत्यसौ
दुर्गाया निकटे महानवमतः श्री वाहरक्ष्मापतिः ॥ "

I am thankful to Prin. Mirashi for this valuable inscriptional reference.

Students of the history of Indian art may be in a position to point out the representations of the *Divāli* festival in sculpture or painting. I may, however, record here one such representation of the *Jain Divāli*. It is found in the *Miniature Paintings*[1] *of the Jaina Kalpasūtra* executed in the Early Western Indian style, published by Norman Brown (Washington, 1934), p. 40, *Plate 25*. Brown describes this painting as follows :—

"*Fig.* 54 (Heeramaneck Galleries, Newyork–MS of *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* with 87 miniatures, not dated—*Probably 16th Century*)- The *Festival of Lights*. *KS*, 128 (Jacobi : *Jaina Sūtras*, S. B. E., Vol. 22, Oxford, 1884, p. 266). On the night when Mahāvīra died the 18 confederated kings instituted an illumination on the *Poṣadha* which was a fast day. They said "*Since the light of holy knowledge is gone*, let us make a material illumination.- Under a canopy are three males, probably typifying the 18 kings, holding *torches*. The scene bears the legend दीवाली (festival of lights) and Jacobi (J tr. 266n) says that the Jainas celebrate the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra with a festival of lights on the *New-Moon* of the month of *Kārttika*."

Some description of the *Divāli* as celebrated in the Deccan at *Kolhapur* in the *11th century* is found in the *story of King of Kollāpura* recorded by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi* (Trans. by C.H. Tawney, R.A.S.B., Calcutta, 1901) p. 111. The author belonged to Vardhamānapura (*Vaḍhvān*) in Gujarat and composed this book of Narratives in *Saṃvat 1361* (=*A.D. 1305*). I note the following points from Merutuṅga's story referred to above:—

(1) Some bards were celebrating the glory of King *Siddharāja* of Gujarat (A.D. 1093–1143) at the court of the *Kollāpur King*, who doubted this glory and required some proofs for Siddharāja's skill in magic mentioned by the bards.

(2) The above doubt of the Kollāpur King was reported to Siddharāja, who found an officer of his court ready to go to Kollāpur to prove Siddharāja's skill in magic. Siddharāja gave 3 lacs of rupees to this officer, who went to Kollāpur and stayed there for some days.

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1. I had inquired of Dr. H. Goetz, Curator, Baroda Museum, if he could point out to me any paintings representing *Divāli* illuminations. In reply Dr. Goetz informs me in his letter of 19–12–45 :—

"As to *Divali* illustrations, I can only say that there are many Mughal miniatures in the Baroda Museum showing illuminations by many small oil lamps, such as it is the practice at *Divali* but I am not sure whether this is the only festival where this is done."

I take this opportunity of requesting other scholars to publish any information about the representations of *Divali* either in painting or sculpture that may come to their notice.

(3) " When the night of the *Diwāli* festival was near and the wives of the King of that city came to his palace in order to worship the goddess[1] *Mahālakṣmi*, that officer, having assumed the disguise of a magician, adorned with all those paraphernalia, and being accompanied by a certain Barbara who had carefully practised flying in the air, suddenly appeared on the pedestal of the goddess. He offered an oblation of gold, jewels and camphor to the goddess and distributed to the King's wives betel similarly adorned and left–there a *magic garment* marked with the name of King *Siddha*, pretending that it was a religious gift, and mounting on the back of Barbara flew up into the air and so returned as he came. When the night came to an end the King was informed by his wives of this act of the hostile monarch and being bewildered with fear he sent back that present to King *Siddha* by the hands of his ministers. Then that officer quickly hurried through the business of buying and selling his wares, and so on, and sent a message to his king by a swift runner, that he was not to grant an audience to those ministers until his arrival. After that he arrived there in a few days. The king, having been informed of the real state of the case took such steps to win over those ministers as occasion demanded. "

Whatever be the truth of the above story it gives us a historical illustration of the association of magical performances with the *Divāli night*, so graphically described by Mrs. Stevenson in the extract already reproduced by me. The *Śilāhara* kings were ruling at Kolhapur at the time of king Siddharāja of Gujarat (A. D. 1093–1143). The goddess *Mahālakṣmi* was their tutelary deity and they called themselves " श्रीमहालक्ष्मीदेवी-लब्धवरप्रसाद" in their inscriptions. The *Sarasvatipurāṇa* mentions that Siddharāja installed the images af *Mahālakṣmi* on the bank of the *Sahasraliṅga* lake constructed by him as I have shown in my paper on *Mahālakṣmi* (*B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly, 1942*).

From Merutuṅga's reference to *Divāli* at Kolhapur in his work of *A. D. 1305* we go to the Marathi work *Jñāneśvari* completed in *A. D. 1290* by the great Saint of Mahārāṣṭra, *Śri Jñāneśvara*. In this work *Divāli* is referred to as follows (see *Jñāneśvari* ed. by B. A. Bhide, Bombay, 1928):—

Pages 106–107— " मी अविवेकाची काजळी ।
फेडूनि विवेकदीप उजळी ।
तै योगियां पाहे दिवाळी । निरंतर ॥ ५७ ॥ "

1 Vide my paper on the *Iconography of Mahalaksmi of Kolhapur* (B. I. S.) *Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol. XXIII, 1942, pp. 17-25.

Page 583—" सूर्ये अधिष्ठिली प्राची ।
जगा राणीव दे प्रकाशाची ।
तैसी वाचा श्रोतयां ज्ञानाची । दिवाळी करी ॥ १२ ॥ "

Though used in metaphors by *Śrī Jñāneśvara* the above usages of the word दिवाळी vividly bring to our mind the illuminations of the *Divāli* festival as current in the Mahārāṣṭra in the 13th century.

To supplement the above reference to *Divāli* by Jñāneśvara we have a very elaborate description of the celebration of the *Divāli* festival in the *Mahānubhāva* text in Marathi (composed about *A. D. 1250*) called *Līlā–Caritra* (ed. by H. N. Nene) Nagpur, Part III *Pūrvārdha*, Khaṇḍa 2, 1937) pp. 116 ff. As the passage is too long for reproduction I note some points from it below :—

(1) This is a description of *Divālī* not in an aristocratic circle, but by *Cakradhara*, [1] the founder of the *Mahānubhāva* sect and his *Gosāvī* pupils.

(2) This *Divāli* was observed at हिवरळी (जालना).

(3) महादाई, the woman — disciple of Cakradhara, managed all the work connected with this *Divālī*.

(4) On the evening of the earlier day she stored sufficient water for bath of the entire party of the *Gosāvis*, who bathed next morning, getting up at dawn for this purpose. Plenty of oil was used for rubbing the bodies before this bath by the Gosāvis and other devotees of Cakradhara.

(5) After bath महादाई waved lights in a tray in front of these Gosāvīs and others (ओवाळणी जाली) who then took betel, and pān (तांबोळ). Dinner was given to the party by महादाई, who was helped by another lady उमाई in this work.

(6) भाऊबीज was observed on the following day when महादाई acted as sister to all the *Gosāvis*. She prepared nice dishes for their dinner such as मोदक, आइत, लाडू, सेव etc.

The *Bhāu–bīja* day observed by the *Gosāvis* is observed even to-day. It falls on *Kārttika Śuddha 2* (*dvitīyā*) i.e. on the day following the *Divālī*. This festival is concerned with sisters who feast their brothers on this day. It is called *Yamadvitīyā* in Sanskrit and Hemādri (A. D. 1260), the contemporary of *Cakradhara* describes it in detail in his compendium

1 Vide pp. 350-354 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937. The dates for Cakradhara as given here are " *A. D. 1194-1275*. " Cakradhara founded the Mahānubhāva Sect in *Śaka 1190* (= 1268 A. D.) at *Paiṭhaṇ*, after having embraced *Saṃnyāsa*.

called the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi.*[1] This description is contained in an extract from the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri. The practices prescribed in the extract are current at present in Mahārāṣṭra.

In a *Kannaḍa* Inscription[2] of *A. D. 1119* (11th May) of the reign of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla there is a reference to *Dipāvalī* day. (One) " Kāvarāja made a gift of one *gadyāṇa* out of the two *gadyāṇas* which the Mahājanas used to pay him, as a present on every *Dipāvali* day for the service of *Nīleśvaradeva.* "

I have already recorded references to *Divāli* from two Marathi sources viz. the *Jnāneśvari* (*A.D. 1290*) and the *Līḷācaritra* (*c. A. D. 1250*). I shall record another reference to *Divāli* in an astronomical work called the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*[3] by Śrīpati, which was composed about *Śaka 961*

1. Ed. in *Bib. Indica,* Calcutta, 1878—See *Vrata Khaṇḍa* Chap. VI, pp. 884-886.—The extract about यमद्वितीया व्रत from the *Bhaviṣyottara* reads as follows: —

" कार्त्तिके शुक्लपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां युधिष्ठिर ।
यमो यमुनया पूर्वं भोजितः स्वगृहे सदा ॥
द्वितीयायां महोत्सर्गे नारकीयाश्च तर्पिताः ।
पापेभ्योऽपि विमुक्तास्ते मुक्ताः सर्व्वनिबन्धनात् ॥
भ्रंशिताश्चातिसंतुष्टाः स्थिताः सर्वे यदृच्छया ।
तेषां महोत्सवो वृत्तः यमराष्ट्रसुखावहः ॥
अतो यमद्वितीया सा प्रोक्ता लोके युधिष्ठिर ।
अस्यां निजगृहे पार्थ न भोक्तव्यमतो बुधैः ॥
स्नेहेन भगिनी हस्ताद्भोक्तव्यं पुष्टिवर्द्धनम् ।
दानानि च प्रदेयानि भगिनीभ्यो विधानतः ॥
स्वर्णालंकारवस्त्राणि पूजासत्कारभोजनैः । "

In Ṛgvedi's book on *Āryan Festivals* already referred to by me the यमद्वितीया or भाऊबीज is described on pp. 297-298. He merely states that the story of यम and his sister यमुना is mentioned in the *Purāṇas* but does not give any exact reference to it.

2. Vide *Kannada Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency* (South Indian Inscriptions Texts, Vol, IX, Part I) ed. by Shamashastri and Lakshminarāyaṇa Rao, 1939, *Page 195*—Inscription No. 198.

See also *Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 337-Yewur inscription of *A. D. 1179* of the time of Sankamadeva. The date recorded gives (1) *Vikārin* year. (2) New Moon day of *Aśvayuja,* (3) *Somavāra,* and (4) महापर्व –allusion is apparently to दीपावलि according to Dr. Fleet (Vide p. 237, *Kadambakula* by Prof. Moraes— दीपावलि extended from अश्विन कृष्ण १४ to कार्तिक शु. १.)

3. Vide भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ ग्रन्थमाला (No. 8.)—द्वितीय संमेलनवृत्त (शक१८३६-1914, Poona)— श्रीपतीकृत मराठी ज्योतिषरत्नमाला (शक ९६१ सुमार) p. 95.

(*A. D. 1039*) according to its editor the Mahārāṣṭra historian, Viśvanātha Kāshinātha Rajawade, who thinks that both the Sanskrit text and its Marathi commentary are the work of Śrīpatī himself. The word दिवाळी occurs in the Marathi commentary on a Sanskrit stanza as will be seen from the following stanza :—

Page 95—" माघे पंचदशि कृष्णा नभस्ये च त्रयोदशी ।
तृतीया माधवे शुक्ला नवम्युर्जे युगादयः ॥ १३ ॥ "

The commentary on this stanza reads as follows :—

" माघमासिची अमावास्या द्विरात्रि भाद्रपदमासचा कृष्णपक्षि त्रयोदशु अर्द्धपक्षि वैशाखमासि शुक्ला तृतीया : अक्षतृतीया : कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमी दिवाळि विदल्या : या तिथि ४ युगादि म्हणिजे ॥ "

At present the *Divāli* day is the 1st day of Kārttika Śukla pakṣa, while according to Śrīpatī (about A. D. 1030) it appears to have been celebrated before " कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमी. " I request the students of Indian Astronomy to throw some light on this question from the texts on Indian Astronomy.

In the Marathi poem by the Mahānubhāva poet Narendra-Kavi, called the रुक्मिणी-स्वयंवर [1] composed in *Śaka 1213* (*A. D. 1292*) we find the following references to the *Divāli* :—

Page 90 — Description of *Dvārakā*

" कीं आनंद-दिवाळियेचें तेज : ।
कीं आकाशीं जोतिचें जौळ हों काज ।
कीं गगनासि याइळें मोज : यादव-प्रतापाचें " ७१२

Page 94 — Description of Vasanta (spring-time)

" कीं ते संभोग-सुखाची दिवाळी :
विरहिणी चेंडेवाळिया होति काळी
चित्त-इंद्रियें हारवीति तिये वेळीं : जें वैराग्याचें " ७२८

Prof. Kolate has explained the metaphor in this stanza pertaining to the *Divāli* referred to by the poet in his notes at the end of the volume. He explains the word चेंडेवाळी as कोलीत or मशाल on page 141 while on page 230 चेंडेवाळी is explained as lamps lighted during the *Divāli* festival on the top of a big heap of grass. [2]

1. Critically edited by Prof. V. B. Kolate, King Edward College, Amraoti, (अरुण प्रकाशन, Malkapur, Berar) 1940.

2. Ibid, p. 230—" चेंडेवाळी = दिवाळीच्या दिवसांत गवताचा एक ढेंग भारा बांधतात आणि त्यावर दिवे लावतात. "

While explaining the above reference to दिवाळी Prof. Kolate has drawn our attention to the following reference to दिवाळी in the *Jñāneśvarī* :—

Chap. VI (*Ovī 389* – p. 135 of Bhide's edition)

"तैसें होय तिये मेळीं । मग सामरस्याचिया राउळीं ।
महासुखाची दिवाळी । जगेंसि दिसे ॥ ३८९ ॥ "

We have already pointed out two references to दिवाळी in *Jñāneśvarī*, to which the above one may now be added.

Before I proceed to note the references to *Divāli* in sources earlier than those referred to above I shall record its fairly detailed description in Sanskrit given in an encyclopaedic work called the आकाशभैरवकल्प which appears to be a reflection of the social and religious practices of the Vijayanagar Empire (between say A. D. 1450 and 1550).[1] This is a description of a royal[2] *Divāli* and hence stands in contrast with the *Divāli* celebrated by Cakradhara and his Gosāvīs. This description reads as follows in the B. O. R. Institute *MS No. 43 of 1925–26* of आकाशभैरवकल्प :-

Page 217— 67th Paṭala describing नरकचतुर्दशी.

"श्री शिवः— अथान्यदाश्विने मासि कर्तव्यं कर्म राजभिः ।
वक्ष्यामि सर्वपापघ्नमलक्ष्मीविनिवारकम् ॥ १ ॥
रूपसौभाग्यसन्तानसंपत्सारस्वतप्रदम् ।
साम्राज्यदं विजयदं विशेषेण महीभुजाम् ॥ २ ॥
सर्वशत्रुक्षयकरं गंगास्नानफलप्रदम् ।
आश्विने मासि कृष्णायां चतुर्दश्यां नृपोत्तमः ॥ ३ ॥
ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय कृतशौचक्रियः शुचिः ।
प्रक्षाल्य पादावाचम्य दन्तधावनपूर्वकम् ॥ ४ ॥
पुरोहितान्पुरस्कृत्य सभार्यान् द्विजपुंगवान् ।
कांश्चिदाहूय संपूज्य तान् गंधकुसुमादिभिः ॥ ५ ॥
दत्त्वा तद्द्विजवर्येभ्यः तांबूलानि फलानि च ।
वैराशीरक्षतान् दत्तानादायांजलिना नृपः ॥ ६ ॥

1. Vide my paper in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. V (1938) Part I, pp. 7–18.

2. The *Śukranītisāra* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, (1882) chap. IV deals with लोकधर्मनिरूपण, in which the King is enjoined to build temples of several deities and arrange for their annual festivals :—

P. 372 – "एवंविधान् नृपो राष्ट्रे देवान् संस्थापयेत् सदा ।
प्रतिसंवत्सरे तेषां उत्सवान् सम्यगाचरेत् ॥ २०२ ॥ "

धृत्वा शिरसि चाभ्यंगनिमित्तं तैलमुत्तमम् ।
दत्वा तद्द्विजमुख्येभ्यो नत्वा कृत्वा प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ ७ ॥

पुनः प्रस्थाप्य तान् विप्रान् तत्परं पृथिवीपतिः ।
हेमपीठे समासीनः प्राङ्मुखः प्रयतः शुचिः ॥ ८ ॥

नदत्सु पंचवाद्येषु वाह्यकक्षान्तरे ततः ।
कणत्कंकणया वध्वा दरचलत्कुरोजया ॥ ९ ॥

अभ्यक्तः स्नापितो मङ्गैः कैश्चित्कोष्णेन वारिणा ।
धृत्वा धौतांबरं दिव्यं स्वर्णतन्त्वञ्चिताञ्चलम् ॥ १० ॥

इत्येवं मङ्गलं स्नानं कृत्वा प्रागुदयाद्रवेः ।
पश्चात् सूर्योदयादूर्ध्वं पुण्ड्रं धृत्वा महीपतिः ॥ ११ ॥

कर्म तत्कालकर्तव्यं नित्यं निर्वर्त्य तत्परम् ।
स्वेष्टदेवं समभ्यर्च्य गंधपुष्पैर्यथाविधि ॥ १२ ॥

अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थं दत्वा दीपत्रयं नृपः ।
सदक्षिणं द्विजातिभ्यस्तेन नीराजितः पुनः ॥ १३ ॥

सवस्त्रस्सशिरस्त्राणः सर्वाभरणभूषितः ।
आस्थानकूटमासाद्य सर्वतस्समलंकृतम् ॥ १४ ॥

सपुत्रपौत्रस्सामात्यः सभृत्यपरिचारकः ।
सिंहासने समासीनः श्वेतछत्रेण चारुणा ॥ १५ ॥

वधूविधूयमानाभ्यां चामराभ्यां विराजितः ।
आस्थानवर्तिनां राज्ञां मन्त्रिणां च पुरोधसाम् ॥ १६ ॥

सामन्तराजपुत्राणां विबुधानां विनोदिनाम् ।
कवीनां गायकानां च योगिनां च नियोगिनाम् ॥ १७ ॥

नटानां नर्तकानां च गणकानां हिमाद्रिजे ।
तथैव गणिकानां च तत्तदुद्योगवर्तिनाम् ॥ १८ ॥

शिरःकम्पेन केषांचित् केषांचिदवलोकनैः ।
मन्दस्मितेन केषांचित् केषांचित् वाग्विलासतः ॥ १९ ॥

आलोकशब्दैः केषांचित् वेत्रपाणिसमीरितैः ।
संभावयन् यथायोग्यमात्मदर्शनमद्रिजे ॥ २० ॥

मुहूर्तमात्रमासीनस्तस्मिन् सिंहासने नृपः ।
तत्परं तैस्सभास्तारैरर्पितान्यंबराणि वै ॥ २१ ॥

गन्धकुंकुमकस्तूरीतांबूलानि यथोचितम् ।
दापयित्वासनात् तस्मादवरुह्यासयोः करौ ॥ २२ ॥

अवलंब्य प्रविश्यान्तःपुरं श्रीरत्नसंकुलम् ।
पुत्रपौत्रैः परिवृतः भुक्त्वान्नममृतोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥

ततः स्वीकृत्य तांबूलं अवरोधजनैस्सह ।
नीत्वा सरससल्लापैः तदहः शेषमद्रिजे ॥ २४ ॥

ततः सेवार्थमागत्य बाह्यकक्षान्तरस्थितान् ।
सामन्तराजपुत्रादीन् समाहूयाथ तैस्सह ॥ २५ ॥

निशामुखे बाणविद्यां [1] दृष्ट्वानालोक्य तत्परम् ।
विशालां प्राप्य नृपतिर्नाट्यशालां च तैस्सह ॥ २६ ॥

नाट्यं नटीभिरारब्धं नानाभिनयमंजुलम् ।
वीणामुरजनिस्साणमुख्यवाद्यनिनादितम् ॥ २७ ॥

दृष्ट्वा प्रस्थाप्य तान् सर्वान् प्रविश्यान्तःपुरन्नृपः ।
पुत्रपौत्रान्वितः श्रीमान् भुक्त्वा मधुरपूर्वकम् ॥ २८ ॥

हंसतूलीविरचितशय्यायां शयितस्सुखम् ।
कुर्वन् सरसल्लापान् महिष्या सह पार्थिवः ॥ २९ ॥

तदर्पितानि तांबूलीदलान्याकुंचितानि वै ।
आददानस्तयासाकमानन्दानुभवी भवेत् ॥ ३० ॥

इत्येवं देवि, नरकचतुर्दश्यां नृपोत्तमैः ।
कर्तव्यं कर्म कथितं मया संग्रहतस्तव ॥ ३१ ॥

इत्याकाशभैरवाख्ये महाशैवतन्त्रे साम्राज्यपीठिकायां नरकचतुर्दशी-कर्तव्यमहोत्सवस्वरूपकथनं नाम सप्तषष्टितमः पटलः । "

Page 22 — *68th Paṭala* describing दीपावली-उत्सव.

" श्री शिवः— अथ तत्कार्तिके मासि दीपावल्यां महीभुजा ।
यत्कर्तव्यं पृथुश्रोणि वक्ष्यामि तव सांप्रतम् ॥ १ ॥

कार्तिकस्य सिते पक्षे या तिथिः प्रतिपत् स्मृता ।
दीपावलीति विज्ञेया सा सर्वा शुभदायिनी ॥ २ ॥

तस्यां तिथौ नृपः प्रातरुत्थाय शयनात्प्रिये ।
कृतशौचक्रियस्सम्यक् कृत्वा वै दन्तधावनम् ॥ ३ ॥

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1. बाणविद्या means here display of *Fire-works*. Abdur Razak who stayed in Vijayanagar from *April 1443 to 5th December 1443* mentions the use of *pyrotechny* or fire-works at the महानवमी festival (See Elliot : *History of India*, IV, pp. 117–118). The present reference to बाणविद्या at *Divāli* festival is important as it is one of the earliest references in Sanskrit sources referring to the use of fire-works at Hindu festivals. In the आकाशभैरवकल्प there is a reference to *guns* on *folio 139* as follows :—

" त्रयोविंशं नालिकास्त्रं ". Here नालिका means a *gun*. (See also my paper on *Guns and Gun-powder in India* in *Sir E. Denison Ross Volume*, pp. 117–124).

नित्यकर्म विनिर्वर्त्य तत्कालोचितमद्रिजे ।
उपास्य भास्करं राजा ततस्तत्र आगते ॥ ४ ॥

पुरोहितं पुरस्कृत्य तदाशीभिर्विवर्धितः ।
स्वेष्टदेवं हृदि ध्यायन् पीठे रत्नमये शुभे ॥ ५ ॥

स्वासीनः प्राङ्मुखो देवि वाद्यघोषपुरस्सरम् ।
अभ्यक्तो गन्धतैलेन स्नापितः कोष्णवारिणा ॥ ६ ॥

धौतांबरधरः कालदेशे धृत्वोर्ध्वपुण्ड्रकम् ।
निर्वर्त्य नित्यकर्माथ तत् कालोचितमद्रिजे ॥ ७ ॥

स्वेष्टदेवं समाराध्य गन्धपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः ।
अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थं लक्ष्म्याश्च स्थैर्यसिद्धये ॥ ८ ॥

लक्ष्मीनारायणप्रीत्यै दत्त्वा दीपत्रयं नृपः ।

सदक्षिणाद्विजातिभ्यस्तेन नीराजितः पुनः ॥ ९ ॥

सपुत्रपौत्रस्सामात्यः सर्वाभरणभूषितः ।
आस्थानशालामासाद्य राज्ञामास्थानवर्तिनाम् ॥ १० ॥

सर्वेषां दर्शनं दत्त्वा यथोचितमगात्मजे ।
गन्धकस्तूरिकादीनि दत्त्वा भूमिपुरंदरः ॥ ११ ॥

मुहूर्तमात्रमासीनो भूपतिः कनकासने
तत्परं तान्नृपवरान् प्रस्थाप्यान्तःपुरं नृपः ॥ १२ ॥

प्रविश्य देवि साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं संपूज्य सादरम् ।

कान्ताजनेन कर्पूरदीपैर्नीराजितोऽद्रिजे ॥ १३ ॥
भुक्त्वा मुहूर्तं सुप्त्वाऽथ सायंकाले समागते ।
मल्लयुद्धादिकं दृष्ट्वा तत्परं तु निशामुखे ॥ १४ ॥

नगरे देवतागारेष्वालयेषु सभासु च ।
चत्वरेषु तु रम्येषु गोपुराट्टालकेषु च ॥ १५ ॥

हर्म्येषु चातिरम्येषु सौधेष्वत्युन्नतेषु च ।
विशालासु वरारोहे चन्द्रशालासु सर्वतः ॥ १६ ॥

भूपालास्थानकूटेषु कक्ष्यासु विविधासु च ।
नाट्यशालासु रम्यासु वीथीषु च विशेषतः ॥ १७ ॥

विन्यस्य विविधान् दीपान् किंकरांस्तु कृतश्रमान् ।
गन्धताम्बूलवस्त्राद्यैर्बहुमान्य महीपतिः ॥ १८ ॥

तत्सर्वं दीपनिवहं श्रिये जातेति मन्त्रतः ।
महालक्ष्म्यै नरपतिः समर्प्य तदनन्तरम् ॥ १९ ॥

सिंहासने स्वकीयानि भूषणानि निधाय च ।
जलपूर्णं स्वर्णकुंभं पल्लवाद्यैरलंकृतम् ॥ २० ॥

तण्डुलोपरि विन्यस्य तत्रावाह्य बलिं प्रभुम् ।
वक्ष्यमाणप्रकारेण ध्यायेद्राजा महाबलिं ॥ २१ ॥

ध्यायेद्बलिं महाकायं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ।
उपसाहृत देवेन्द्र वैभवं विष्णुवल्लभम् ॥ २२ ॥
खड्गचर्मधरं स्वर्णकान्तिकान्तासमन्वितम् ।
शुक्लाम्बरमाल्यसहितं दैत्यदानवसेवितम् ॥ २३ ॥

एवं ध्यात्वार्चयेत्सम्यक् नाममन्त्रेण तं बलिम् ।
ततः पुष्पांजलिं दद्यात् वक्ष्यमाणैस्तु नामभिः ॥ २४ ॥
बलीन्द्रः प्रल्हादपौत्रो विरोचनसुतस्तत. ।
महेन्द्रमर्दनो दानवाधीशो विष्णुभक्तकः ॥ २५ ॥
विभवप्रद इत्येतैर्दत्वा पुष्पांजलिं ततः ।
प्रार्थयेत्स्वाभिलषितं मन्त्रेणानेन पार्थिवः ॥ २६ ॥
यथा त्वं सर्वलोकानामधिपोऽस्य सुरेश्वर ।
तथा मे कुरु सौभाग्यं यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥ २७ ॥

इति संप्रार्थ्य विप्रेभ्यो दद्याद्वित्तानुसारतः ।
सुवर्णं रजतं मुक्तामणींश्च विविधानपि ॥ २८ ॥
मित्राप्तबन्धुमुख्येभ्यो दद्याद्दर्पसमन्वितः ।
कर्पूरशकलैस्सार्धं तांबूलानि विशेषतः ॥ २९ ॥
एवं कृत्वा नरपतिर्दीपावल्युत्सवं प्रियं ।
सर्वदानैश्च यत्पुण्यं यत्पुण्यमखिलाध्वरैः ॥ ३० ॥
तत्पुण्यं समवाप्नोति नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।
एवं ते देवि कथितो दीपावल्योत्सवो महान् ॥ ३१ ॥

आयुरारोग्यविजयसंपत्सारस्वतप्रदः ।

इत्याकाशभैरवाख्ये महाशैवतन्त्रे साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपीठिकायां दीपावल्युत्सवस्वरूपकथनं नामाष्टषष्टितमः पटलः ॥ "

The two chapters reproduced above contain quite a colourful picture of the *royal Divāli* celebrated on two days viz. (1) आश्विन कृष्ण चतुर्दशी and (2) कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपद्. This is *Divāli* as observed in the South of India between say A. D. 1400 and 1600. I now continue my story of *Divāli* and come to the extreme North of India and record a short description of *Divāli*

given by a Muslim writer Abdul Rahamān in an *Apabhramśa* poem called the संदेशरासक[1] in which we find a description of the month of *Kārttika* and the *Dīpāvalī* night (जोइक्खिहि) as follows :—

" दित्तिय णिसि दीवालिय दीवय
णवससिरेहसरिस करि लीणय ।
मंडिय भुवण तरुण जोइक्खिहि
महिलिय दिंति सलाइय अक्खिहिं ॥ १७६ ॥ "

Mr. Bhayani observes on p. 90 of his critical Introduction :—

" On the *Dīpāvalī* night mansions were decorated with lights resembling the crescent moon. Ladies applied collyrium to their eyes (176). "

The commentary called टिप्पनक on the above passage reads as follows:—

अथ कार्तिकवर्णनम्— " नार्यः दीपान् नवशशिरेखासदृशान् करे गृहीत्वा निशि ददन्ति । तज्जोतिष्कैः दीपैः भुवनानि मण्डितानि । अन्यच्च नार्यः तेषां दीपानां कज्जलं शलाकया कृत्वा नेत्रेषु ददन्ति ॥ १७६ ॥ "

Illumination of houses on the Divāli night by Hindu ladies is aptly described by this Muslim writer who belonged to *Multān*[2] (मूलत्थाणु) in the Punjab. He was well versed in *Sanskrit*, *Prakrit* and *Apabhramśa*. He must have mastered these languages at some seat of Hindu Culture (perhaps it was Multan).

From the above description of *Divalī* in the Punjab of c. A. D. 1150 we now go to Alberuni's description of *Divāli* of *c. A. D. 1030*. In Alberuni's remarks[3] " on the Festivals and Festive days " of the Hindus he describes the *Divālī* festival as follows :—

" Ist *Kārtika* or new moon's day, when the sun marches in Libra is called *Divālī*. Then people bathe, dress festively, make presents to each other of betel leaves and areca nuts; they ride to the temples to give alms and play merrily with each other till noon. In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air is perfectly clear. The cause of this festival is that *Lakṣmī* the wife of *Vāsudeva* once a year on

1. Ed. by Jinavijayaji and Bhayani, Bhāratiya Vidyābhavan, Bombay, 1945, page 71. In the *Preface* (p. 12) Muni Jinavijayaji infers that संदेशरासक " must have been composed during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārapāla i. e. in the latter half of the 12th century or at the latest the first half of the 12th century of the Vikrama era. "

2. See p. 753 of *World Pictorial Gazetteer* by Hammerton — Multan stands on the river Chanab. It is about 190 miles S. W. of Lahore. Principal buildings are two Mahomedan Shrines and the remains of an old Hindu temple. A great trading centre (shawls and carpets.)

3. Vide p. 182 of Vol. II of *Alberuni's India*, ed. by E. C. Sachau, London, —Chap. LXXVI.

this day liberates *Bali*, the son of *Virocana*, who is a prisoner in the seventh earth. Therefore, the festival is called *Balirājya* i. e. the principality of *Bali*. The Hindus maintain that this time was a time for luck in *Kṛtayuga* and they are happy because the feast day in question resembles that time in the *Kṛtayuga*."

In our search for the lights of the *Divālī* we have traversed a period of about 950 years and moved from the south of India to its extreme north. We stand on the threshold of antiquity at about 1000 A. D.[1] and try to see if we can cross this threshold and notice any lights of the *Divālī* in the inner apartments of the Indian history.

About 90 years before Alberuni's description of the Hindu Divāli in North India we find a brilliant poetic description of *Divāli* in the *Yaśastilaka campū* of Somadevasūri composed in *Śaka 881* (A. D. *959*). About this description my friend Dr. V. Raghavan makes the following remarks in his *Gleanings from Somadevasūri's Yaśastilaka-campū* " (p. 379 of *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, May 1944 – Vol. I, part 3) :–

" Pp. 597–99 (*Kāvyamālā 70*. Bombay, 1901) — The *Mahānavamī* festival is followed by the *Dīpotsava*. Houses are white-washed and decorated with white festoons; music, merry-making and gambling go on; the tops of houses are bright with rows of lights. This festival is in the *Śarat* season."

The text of the *Divālī* description reads as follows :—

" — इति विजयवैत्राधुचमागधाबबोधितलक्ष्मीं महानवमीं[2] निर्वर्त्य ।
तथा —

हंसावली द्विगुणकेतुसितांशुकश्रीः
पद्मावतंसरमणीरमणीयसारः ।
प्रासादसारितसुधाद्युतिदिग्विदिक्को
दीपोत्सवस्तव तनोतु मुदं महीश ॥ ४६२ ॥

1. In a Chinese poem on the *Lantern Festival* (of the first full moon) by *Au-yang Hsiu* (*A. D. 1007-1072*) we get a parallel of our *Divāli* (Vide p. 394 of *Tien Hsia Monthly*. (November, 1939). I quote a stanza from this poem :-

" Last year at the *Lantern Festival*
The flower-market lights were bright as day,
When the moon mounted to the tops of the willows,
Two lovers kept their tryst after the yellow dusk "

2. The महानवमी festival was celebrated on a huge scale during the time of the Vijayanagar Empire. It is called नवरात्र at present. It begins on आश्विन शुक्ल प्रतिपत् and ends on आश्विन शुक्ल ९, followed by शुक्ल १० which is विजयादशमी (दसरा), which is again followed by the Divāli on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् (See p. 267–284) of आर्यांच्या सणांचा इतिहास by Ṛgvedī.

द्यूतोन्मादितकामिनीनिवहृतप्राणेशचाटूत्कटः
क्रीडाद्दारविलासिनीजनभवद्भूषाविकल्पोद्भटः ।
आतोद्यध्वनिमङ्गलारवभरव्याजृम्भिताशामुखः
प्रीतिं पूर्णमनोरथस्य भवतः पुष्यात्प्रदीपोत्सवः ॥ ४६३ ॥

आभान्त्यसर्वशिखराप्रविटङ्कपालि-
दीपावली द्युतिभृतपुरसौधबन्धाः ।
प्रत्यङ्गसंगतमहौषधिदीप्तदेहा-
स्त्वां सेवितुं कुलनगा इव दत्तयात्राः ॥ ४६४ ॥

इति सूनासूक्तसूचितावसरां दीपोत्सवश्रियं चानुभूय । etc. "

From the above description of *Divālī* by a Southern writer of c. A. D. 950 we go to a Kashmirian text "*not later than 6th or 7th century A. D.*" viz. the नीलमतपुराण[1] in which I find the following description of *Divālī* :—

Page 42 (Lahore Edition, 1924)—

" तथा पक्षे व्यतीते तु कर्तव्या सुखसुप्तिका ॥ ५०५ ॥
पञ्चदश्यां यथा विप्र तथा मे गदतः शृणु ।
तस्यां दिवा न भोक्तव्यं बालातुरजनं विना ॥ ५०६ ॥

सूर्ये त्वस्तमनुप्राप्ते पूजयित्वा करीषिणीम् ।
दीपवृक्षास्ततो देयाः देवतायतनेषु च ॥ ५०७ ॥

चतुष्पथश्मशानेषु नदीपर्वतवेश्मसु ।
वृक्षमूलेषु गोष्ठेषु चत्वरेष्वापणेषु च ॥ ५०८ ॥

वस्त्रैश्चैवापणाः सर्वे कर्तव्याश्चोपशोभिताः ।
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम् ॥ ५०९ ॥

स्वलंकृतेन भोक्तव्यं द्विजेन्द्र नववाससा ।
सुहृद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः सार्धं बंधुभिश्चानुयायिभिः ॥ ५१० ॥

ततः प्राप्ते द्वितीयेऽह्नि स्वनुलिप्तैः स्वलंकृतैः ।
क्रीडितव्यं तथा द्यूतैः श्रोतव्यं गीतवादितम् ॥ ५११ ॥

विशेषवस्त्रं भोक्तव्यैः पूर्वोक्तैस्तैर्जनैस्सह ।
तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः ॥ ५१२ ॥

1. Ed. by Ramlal and Zaddoo, Lahore, 1924—p. 7 of Introduction.—See also Winternitz : *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1927) Vol. I, p. 583—Kalhaṇa (about *1148* A. D.) drew on this Purāṇa. He regarded it as a venerable *Purāṇa* "*It must be several centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's work*" (राजतरङ्गिणी).

तस्यां रात्रौ तु कर्तव्यं शय्यास्थानं सुशोभितः ।
गन्धैर्वस्त्रैस्तथा धूपैः रत्नैश्चैवाभिलंकृतम् ॥ ५१३ ॥
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्तं तथा धूपेन धूपितम् ।
दयिताभिश्च सहितैः तैर्नेया सा निशा भवेत् ॥ ५१४ ॥
पूज्या नूतनवासोभिः सुहृत्संबन्धिबान्धवाः ।
ब्राह्मणा भृत्यवर्गाश्च चन्द्रदेव यथाविधि ॥ ५१५ ॥
इति नी० कार्तिकामायां दीपमालावर्णनम् ।"

The above passage corresponds to verses 398 to 407 in the Critical Edition of the *Nīlamata* by K. S. J. M. de Vreese published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1936 (pp. 36–37).

From the description of *Dipamālā* in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* of Kashmir composed in the "*6th or 7th century A. D.*" we turn to the play *Nāgānanda*[1] of Śrī Harṣa, who is supposed to be identical with Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, the reputed author of two other plays viz. *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*, who ruled between *A. D. 606 and 648*. In Act IV of *Nāgānanda* I find a reference[2] to *Divālī* in the following extract :—

" प्रतिहार — अहमपि महाराजविश्वावसुना समादिष्टः । यथा सुनन्द गच्छ मित्रावसुं ब्रूहि । अस्मिन् दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे मलयवत्या जामातुश्चैतदुत्सवानुरूपं यत्किंचित् प्रदीयते । तदागत्य निरूप्यताम् इति । तद्गच्छतु तावच्छेखरकाशमार्यः । अहमपि युवराजमित्रावसोरानयनाय गच्छामि ।"
(इति निष्क्रान्तौ)

In their notes[3] on the expression "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" the editors observe : "This seems to be a festival held on the first day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*[4] and celebrated with illuminations, our *Divālī*." I think the cumulative effect of the history of *Divālī* reconstructed by me so far will warrant the above identification of दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव with our *Divālī* festival.

1. Ed. by G. B. Brahme and S. M. Paranjpe.

2. Ibid. pp. 61–62.

3. Ibid. *Notes*, p. 51.

4. Mr. R. N. Mehta in his *Pre-Buddhist India* (Bombay, 1939, pp. 354–355) deals with *sports and festivals*. In this connection he refers to (1) कार्तिक festival on the night of the Moon (कार्तिकी पूर्णिमा), (2) आश्विन – night of Full Moon (चातुर्मासिनी कौमुदी). There is no reference in Mehta's description of these festivals to any display of lamps. (See J. I., pp. 499–500–G. 148; II, p. 372. V, pp. 212–214; and J. VI, pp. 221–222, G. 947, 949, 953 (उत्तमो उस्सवो).

All modern annotators and editors[1] of the *Nāgānanda* equate "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव" with *Divālī* festival but the commentary[2] of Śivarāma explains the expression with the remarks : प्रतिपदुत्सवे स्थालीपाकाख्ये. I cannot say if the *Divālī* was known as स्थालीपाकउत्सव in ancient or mediaeval India. In this connection I note here some points about the origin of the *Divālī* festival recorded by "Ṛgvedi" in his book on *Aryan Festivals*[3] already referred to by me. These points are briefly as follows :—

(1) The present दीपावलि महोत्सव is a unification and transformation of three पाकयज्ञ v. z. (i) पार्वण, (ii) आश्वयुजी and (iii) आग्रयण.

(2) पार्वण appears to have been observed on आश्विन वद्य ३० in ancient times as a पाकयज्ञ in honour of the *ancestors*.

(3) आश्वयुजी was observed in ancient times on the आश्विन पौर्णिमा. It pertained to *agriculture*, the presiding deity of which was सीता.

(4) आग्रयण (नवान्नेष्टि) was observed on मार्गशीर्ष पौर्णिमा. It indicated the closing of the संवत्सर.

(5) In course of time कार्तिक was fixed upon as the first month of the विक्रम संवत् during the reign of विक्रमादित्य, the founder of this era. The custom of celebrating the *Divālī* in this month in association with the other festivities of the New year's beginning must have given the *Divālī* its present form.

The above hypothesis about the origin and development of the modern *Divālī* festival needs to be substantiated by evidence. Its author has not recorded any convincing evidence in its support to compel our acceptance of it.

Our story of *Divālī* as revealed by datable literary evidence has so far come to *c. A. D. 600*. If the दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव mentioned in the *Nāgānanda* definitely means the *Divālī*[4] we can easily take its antiquity at least upto *A. D. 500*, as national festivals have always a long tradition behind them.

1. Krishnashastri Chiplunkar in his Marathi translation of *Nāgānanda* (Bombay, 1865) p. 105, translates the expression "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" as "दिवाळीचे सणाचे दिवशी" — Principal R. D. Karmarkar in his Edition of *Nāgānanda* (Poona, 1919), p. 50 of Notes, observes :— "In the introductory scene from the conversation of the कञ्चुकी and प्रतीहार we learn that red garments have to be presented for ten days after marriage according to the custom of the time to the bride and the bride-groom and also that विश्वावसु wants to make a suitable present to the newly wedded pair at the approaching *Dīpāvali* festival."

2. Ed. by Gaṇapati Śāstri, *Trivandrum S. Series*, 1917, page 187.

3. आर्यांच्या सणांचा इतिहास, Bombay, 1916, pages 290–298.

4. My friend Mr. M. Govind Pai of Manjeshvar (South Kanara) states in a private communication that प्रतिपत् in "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" clearly refers to कार्तिक शुद्ध प्रतिपत् because

(continued on the next page)

To go backwards from A. D. 500 is now a difficult task and I earnestly invite brother-scholars to point out from early sources any references to or descriptions of the *Divāli* which can establish the antiquity of this national festival at least for 2000 years, if not more.

Hemacandra in his *Deśīnāmamālā*[1] (III, 43) mentions a *Deśī* word " जक्खरत्ती " (= यक्षरात्रि) and equates it with दीवाळी or दीपालिका. If this explanation is correct we can easily take back the antiquity of *Divāli* to the time[2] of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, which mentions यक्षरात्रि in its list of festivals, as pointed out by Mr. T. N. Ray in his delightful article on " *The Indoor and out-door Games of Ancient India* " (Vide p. 244 of *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939). Mr. Ray states that the festivals यक्षरात्रि, कौमुदीजागर and सुवसन्तक are termed माहिमनी or having got a noble purpose and are universal and the rest are देश्य or provincial. About यक्षरात्रि Mr. Ray[3] observes :—

" *Yakṣarātri* is performed during the night of the *New Moon* Night of Kārttika. [Some are of opinion that यक्षरात्रि is the Full Moon Night of Kārttika. But I don't think that they are correct. Vide the commentary by Ramacandra Sāstri on *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi* (I, 4. 42)]. This night is also called सुखरात्रि.[4] People generally gamble during this night. This is the night when the *Divāli* festival is celebrated nowadays almost every where in India. In Bengal and in some parts of India goddess *Kāli* is

(*continued from the previous page*)

of the reference to शरत्समय in the following lines which are introduced by the poet in the same context :— नायक — मित्रावसो पश्य पश्य शरत्समय—पाण्डुभिः पयोदपटलैः प्रावृताः प्रालेयाचल-शिखरश्रियमुद्वहन्ति एते मलयाचलसानवः " [These peaks of the मलय mountain, spread over by the veils of clouds, white on account of autumn, possess the beauty of the peaks of the *Himālaya* (प्रालेयाचल)].

1. Ed. by Ramānujasvāmi in *B. S. Series* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1938), p. 148.
Example :— " मणिवलएहि कुणन्ती जेवाळेअम्मि जक्खरत्ति व ।
जण्णोहणाण वि तुमं पि सि वच्छंदेण कि हरसि ॥ ३५ ॥ "

2. About *100 A. D.* — Keith assigns the *Kāmasūtra* to *C. 600 A. D.* Mr. Ray accepts the date " *beginning of the Christian era* " for the work.

3. Mr. Ray states in foot-note 16 of his article :— I have dealt with festivals in my Presidential address on the occasion of *Dipāli Utsab* (1346 B. S.) at Dinajpur, which is going to be published very soon, " I have not seen this address.

4. The commentator Yaśodhara in his *Jayamaṅgalā* commen. on the *Kāmasūtra* observes (p. 50 of *Kāmasūtra*, ed. by Kedārnāth, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1900) :—
" यक्षरात्रिरिति । सुखरात्रिः । यक्षाणां तत्र सन्निधानात् । तत्र प्रायशो लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा । .... एता माहिमान्यः क्रीडाः । देश्या आह—सहकारभञ्जिका " etc.

worshipped during the night. The New Moon and Full Moon Nights are specially fixed for the worship of *Kālī* and *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth. The *Divālī* festival is performed in honour of this goddess in most parts of India. The day following this night is called द्यूतप्रतिपत् which is the first day of the Indian calendar of the Vikrama era. *Yakṣarātri* is the last night of the year. It is said that Bali, the king of the nether world ascended the throne on this day."

Hemacandra's equation : " जक्खरत्ती (यक्षरात्रि) = दीवाली or दीपालिका " is a good starting point to hunt up the history of the *Divālī* in sources on either side of the Christian era, especially because the *Kāmasūtra* mentions the यक्षरात्रि among three major festivals (माहिमन्यः explained by Yaśodhara as " महिमा महत्त्वं तद्विद्यते यासाम् "). If more evidence can be gathered about the यक्षरात्रि festival, we shall be in a position to clarify the problem of the origin of *Divālī*.

At the beginning of his article on Games referred to above Mr. Ray observes :—

" *It is not possible to give a chronological account of these games.* There are certain games still prevalent in India, which can be traced as far back as the *Buddhist*, *Epic*, and even the *Vedic* period. So we shall arrange the games according to their nature and shall try to give their history as far as practicable."

I am firmly convinced that without a chronological account of our festivals we cannot understand their history. In the present paper I have planted some mile-stones of the *chronology of Divālī* from *about A. D. 100 to A. D. 1945* as will be seen from the following tabular statement :—

Chronology	Reference D = Divāli	Time indicated
Between A. D. 50 and 400	कामसूत्र mentions यक्षरात्रि as an important festival–According to Hemacandra जक्खरत्ती (यक्षरात्रि) is equal to दीवाली or दीपालिका — यशोधर (on कामसूत्र) explains यक्षरात्रि as सुखरात्रि, attended with यक्ष and द्यूतक्रीडा. He calls it a माहिमनी festival as opposed to देश्य. Both these terms are mentioned by the कामसूत्र.	The कामसूत्र gives its list of festivals as यक्षरात्रि, कौमुदीजागर, सुवसन्तक etc. Is any chronological order intended in this list ?

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
A. D. 606–648	Śri Harṣa of Kanauj refers to दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव in his play नागानन्द which is equal to modern *D* as it has a reference to शरत्समय mentioned in the same context—The custom of presenting garments to the bride and bride-groom at this festival referred to in नागानन्द has its parallel in the modern custom of honouring the son-in-law with feast and presents on the first *D* after marriage.	प्रतिपद् of शरत्समय.
Between A. D. 500 and 800	नीलमतपुराण composed in Kashmir describes in detail the दीपमाला festival with the following features:—(1) All-round illuminations, (2) hoisting up of festoons, (3) Feasting with Brahmins, relatives and dependents, (4) Gambling, Music, (5) Passing the night in the company of ladies, (6) Wearing of rich apparel and jewels, (7) Presenting new garments to friends, relatives, Brahmins and the servants.	पञ्चदशी —" कार्तिक अमायां दीपमाला वर्णनम्" according to colophon.
A. D. 959	सोमदेवसूरि in his यशस्तिलकचंपू composed during the राष्ट्रकूट King कृष्ण (III) of मान्यखेट (Mālkhed) describes दीपोत्सव with the following features:—(1) Houses, white-washed and decorated with white festoons, (2) Merry-making in the company of ladies, (3) Music, (4) Gambling, (5) Tops of houses bright with rows of lights, (6) Indicated by सुनासूक (" सुनासूकसूचितावसरो दीपोत्सवश्रियं. ")	Performed after the महानवमी festival (महानवमी निर्वर्त्य).
A. D. 1030	The astronomer श्रीपति refers to दिवाळी in his Marathi commentary on his own ज्योतिषरत्नमाला.	Prior to कार्तिक शुक्लनवमी.

Chronology	Reference D = Divāli	Time indicated
A. D. 1030	Alberūnī in his "Enquiry into India" (*Tahkik-i-Hind*) gives a detailed description of *D* with the following features :- (1) name "*Dibālī*", (2) Festive dress, (3) Making presents of *betel leaves and areca nuts*, (4) Merry-making, (5) visiting temples and giving alms, (6) All-round display of lamps at night, (7) cause of *D* given as the liberation of *Bali* on this day by *Lakṣmī*, wife of *Vāsudeva*, (8) a time for luck - *Alberūnī* entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Gaznī.	" *1st Kārtika* of New Moon's day when the Sun marches in Libra."
A.D. 1088-1172	हेमचन्द्र of Gujarāt refers in his देशी-नाममाला to "जक्खरत्ती" (यक्षरात्रि) and equates it with दीवाली or दीपालिका.	
Before A. D. 1159	त्रिकाण्डशेष of पुरुषोत्तमदेव mentions यक्षरात्रि = दीपाली (1. 1. 108) (see यक्षरात्रि in St. Petersburgh Sans. Worterbuch)	
A.D. 1100-1200	Abdul Rahman of Multan in the Punjab in his Apabhraṃśa work संदेश रासक describes the *Dīpāvalī* night (जोइक्खिदि) with the following features:- (1) Illumination of mansions by ladies all-round. (2) Ladies applying the collyrium of these lamps to their eyes. (3) Resemblance of the Divāli lamps to the crescent moon.	शरत् Season—कार्तिक वर्णन.
A. D. 1119	A *Kannaḍa inscription* of the Madras Presidency of the reign of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla refers to a gift of one *gadyāṇa* for the service of नीलेश्वर देव by one Kāvarāja on a महापर्व, New Moon day of अश्वयुज, सोमवार.	New Moon day of अश्वयुज, सोमवार called महापर्व, which Dr. Fleet regards as दीपावलि (which extended from आश्विन कृष्ण १४ to कार्तिक शुक्ल १).

Chronology	Reference D = Divāli	Time indicated
A. D. 1290	The Mahārāṣṭra Saint ज्ञानेश्वर refers to दिवाळी in his ज्ञानेश्वरी in three different metaphors — The illuminations of the Divālī are compared to the light of spiritual knowledge.	
c. A. D. 1250	In the Marathi Mahānubhāva text लीळाचरित्र a long description is given about the celebration of *Divālī* by चक्रधर, the founder of this sect and his Gosāvī pupils. Features of this description are:— (1) Plenty of water stored and used for the Divālī bath, taken by the *Gosāvis.* (2) Use of oil for rubbing the bodies before this bath. (3) Waving of lights (ओवाळणी) before the Gosāvīs by the woman-disciple of चक्रधर. (4) Preparation of choice dishes for dinner such as मोदक, लाडू, सेव etc. on the भाऊबीज (यमद्वितीया) day following the Divāli day. This was a Saint's *Divāli* without any merry-making of the aristocratic variety. It was quite modest and simple.	
c. A. D. 1260	हेमाद्रि in his चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (व्रतखण्ड) describes the यमद्वितीया (or भाऊबीज) festival. In this connection he quotes a passage from भविष्योत्तर containing the story of यम and his sister यमुना, who feasted him at her house. Since that time this festival was observed by brothers and sisters.	कार्तिक शुक्ल द्वितीया.

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
A. D. 1305	मेरुतुङ्ग of Gujarat in his प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि narrates the story of Kolhāpur king, who was contemporary of king Siddharāja of Gujarat (A. D. 1093–1143). In this connection he refers to the *Divāli* festival at Kolhapur with the following features:— (1) Worship of the महालक्ष्मी goddess of Kolhapur by the king's wives on the *Divāli* night. (2) Oblation of gold jewels and camphor offered to महालक्ष्मी on the Divālī night by an officer of Siddharāja. (3) Gift of a magic garment to महालक्ष्मी by the above officer.	*Divālī night*
A. D. 1420	*Nicoloi Conti*, the Italian traveller who visited Vijayanagar about A. D. 1420 or 1421 has described the festivals that were celebrated at Vijayanagar such as वर्षप्रतिपदा, महानवमी, दीपावळी and होळी (Vide p. 252 of विजयनगर स्मारक ग्रंथ, B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1936–37, article on विजयनगर आणि परकीय प्रवासी by R. M. Athavale). He describes the *Divāli* lamps kept burning day and night within temples and on their roofs.	
Between A. D. 1450 and 1600	The आकाशभैरवकल्प, an encyclopaedic work dealing with social religious and political life, possibly of Vijayanagar Empire, describes in two chapters how a king should observe the Divālī on नरकचतुर्दशी and कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्. The features of the नरकचतुर्दशी महोत्सव are :— (1) This festival brings victory, progeny, happiness, prosperity etc. to kings.	आश्विन कृष्ण चतुर्दशी or नरक चतुर्दशी and कार्तिक सिते पक्षे प्रतिपत्.

Chronology	Reference D = Divāli	Time indicated
	It is called साम्राज्यद (giver of Sovereignty). (2) Early morning bath, (3) Worship of *Purohitas* and other eminent Brahmins. (4) At the bath the king's wife should anoint him with oil and *mallas* (wrestlers) should bathe him with warm water. This is called मल्लस्नान. (5) King should worship his special deity and light three lamps before it. (6) Then he should go to the आस्थानकूट (assembly hall) duly attired with sword, helmet, ornaments etc. and sit on the royal throne (सिंहासन) with all his servants and officers in attendance. He should receive here the members of the assembly consisting of tributary princes, learned Brahmins, poets, singers, actors, dancers, astrologers, and courtezans. This reception should be according to the status of each class of the assembly. The King should then distribute presents in the form of garments. The distribution of *tāmbūla* etc. should bring the function to a close. (7) The King should then go to the अन्तःपुर and there in the company of beautiful ladies, his sons and grand-sons etc. finish his dinner. (8) In the evening he should witness, in the company of tributary princes etc. a display of बाणविद्या (fire-works) followed by a dramatic performance in the नाट्यशाला accompanied with singing etc.	

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	(9) He should then retire to the अन्तःपुर, take his meals with the members of the house-hold and later pass the night in the company of his chief queen (महिषी). The features of the दीपावली proper on the following day (कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्) are :— (1) Bath etc. as on the previous day. (2) Worship of भास्कर (Sun). (3) Offering three lamps to लक्ष्मीनारायण for averting अलक्ष्मी and establishing लक्ष्मी on a secure basis (स्थैर्यसिद्धये). (4) Holding a gathering in the आस्थानकूट as on the previous day. (5) Retiring to अन्तःपुर and there worshipping साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी. (6) After-noon rest, followed by entertainments like मल्लयुद्ध. (7) Illuminations all-round in the capital in temples, assembly-halls, terraces streets and squares, theatres etc. (8) Honouring the royal servants with *tāmbūla* and garments after their labours (कृतश्रमान्) for the success of the Divālī celebrations. (9) Dedication of the entire illuminations (दीपनिवह) to महालक्ष्मी. (10) Worship of बली, son of विरोचन and grandson of प्रल्हाद. (11) Distribution of gifts of gold etc. to Brahmins, relatives etc. with a joyous heart.	

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	Thus terminates the दीपावली-उत्सव contributing to long life, health, victory, prosperity and knowledge.	
A. D. 1590	*Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl describes *Divālī*. *Features* :— (1) Greatest festival of the Vaiśya caste, (2) Illuminations-difference in calculating the date of *D.* — celebrated on कार्तिक शुक्ल १३ and कृष्ण १५, (3) Lamps are lit as on the Muslim festival *Shab-i-barāt*, (4) Dicing and other strange traditions.	*Kārttika* कृष्णपक्ष १५ and शुक्लपक्ष १३.
A.D. 1613, 1623, 1651, 1671, 1673, 1690, 1820, 1843, 1883.	European references to *Divālī* recorded in Hobson-Jobson. *Features* :-(1) Feasting, (2) Festival in honour of विष्णु, (3) Sending presents to all concerned, (4) Bania's Divālī, (5) Grand festival season, (6) Fireworks (1820), (7) Worship of लक्ष्मी, (8) Floating of lamps in river, (9) Splendid Divālī at Benares (1883).	

In the foregoing study of the history of the *Divālī* festival I have confined my evidence as far as possible to non-Purāṇic sources, as the chronology of the Purāṇic sources is not definite. I hope now that many of my friends who have made a close study of the Purāṇic sources will throw more light on this festival of lights by linking up the Purāṇic sources with the chronology of this festival as recorded in the present paper for a period of about 2000 years from the beginning of the Christian era up to the present day. [1]

1. Since this paper was drafted I have sent for publication in the *Journal of the Dr. Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, a paper on "*The Sukhasuptikā of the Nīlamata Purāṇa (between A. D. 500 and 800) and the Āditya Purāṇa quoted by Hemādri (c. A. D. 1260) and its relation to the modern divālī festival*" — I have further received the following replies to my inquiries about *Divālī*, which would be useful for further investigation in this field :—

(*continued on the next page*)

My present study of the history of the Divālī has been prepared in space-time context. The time-context has been made sufficiently clear in the table given above. As regards the space-context I may observe that the sources used in the present study pertain to the celebration of the *Divālī* from Kashmir to Madras at such places as Multan, Kashmir, Kanauj, Delhi, Agra, Gujarāt, Chhattisgarh (C. P.), Mahārāṣṭra, Poona, Mālkheḍ (in Nizam's Dominions), Vijayanagar, etc. This space-context shows the national character of the *Divālī* from very early times. Yośodhara, therefore, is right in putting the *Yakṣarātri* (or *Divālī*) in the category of *Māhimanī* (national) festivals mentioned by *Kāmasūtra* as distinguished from the *deśya* (provincial or regional) festivals.

(continued from the previous page)

(I) Mm. Prof. *P. V. Kane* writes on *22-1-1946* :—

"The 4th volume of my work (*History of Dharmaśāstra*) will deal with *festivals* and *vratas*. Therefore, so far I have written nothing about the Divālī festival. From my notes I find that Hemādri quotes स्कन्दपुराण and भविष्यपुराण for lighting lamps in *Divālī*; similarly the मदनपारिजात quotes वृद्धमनु, the दिवोदासीय quotes ब्राह्मपुराण. The निर्णयसिन्धु also quotes these and the कृत्यरत्नाकर (pp. 386-395 and p. 418) has something to say about आश्विनरात्रिमहोत्सव and यमद्वितीया."

(II) Dr. *A. P. Karmarkar* who is now working on Purāṇic Culture at the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, has kindly sent me the following references to *Dīpāvalī* from the *Purāṇas*, on *1-2-1946* :—

(1) पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखंड, chap. 122); (2) वामनपुराण (chapter 92—verses 53 ff.— Note also the दशावतारs in the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण); (3) स्कन्दपुराण (वैष्णव खण्ड—कार्तिकमासमाहात्म्य, chapters 9 ff.).

(III) Dr. *A. N. Upadhye* (Kolhapur) writes about *Jain Divālī* on *26-1-1946* :— "The *Divālī* is the most important festivity with the Jainas. Lord Mahāvīra attained *Mokṣa* on the कार्तिक वद्य अमा (in the South आश्विन वद्य अमा). The Jainas practically all over India celebrate the *Nirvāṇa* of *Mahāvīra* by illuminating lights on the night of the New Moon in the month of *Kārttika*; the कल्पसूत्र remarks : "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter" (see S. B. E. Vol. 22, pp. 264-266). The era of महावीर निर्वाण begins from कार्तिक शुद्ध १. The remark of the कल्पसूत्र is the starting point for our study."

I am thankful to all the above friends for their helpful and prompt replies to my queries about *Divālī*.

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19. Studies in the History of Indian Festivals
The *Sukhasuptikā* of the *Ādityapurāṇa* and the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (A.D. 500-800) and its Relation to the Modern Divālī Festival*

In my paper on the *History of the Divālī* Festival (*c.A.D. 100–1945*)[1] I have pointed out the following facts :—

(1) यक्षरात्रि mentioned by the *Kāmasūtra* as an important festival is identical with its *deśī* name जक्खरत्ती mentioned by हेमचन्द्र in his *Deśīnāmamālā* and explained as दीवाली or दीपालिका.

(2) Another lexicographer Puruṣottamadeva in his lexicon त्रिकाण्डशेष also equates यक्षरात्रि with दीपालि (see St. Petersburgh Worterbūch under यक्षरात्रि). This author is earlier than A.D. 1159.

(3) यशोधर in his commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* explains यक्षरात्रि as सुखरात्रि । यक्षरात्रिरिति । सुखरात्रिः । यक्षाणां तत्र सन्निधानात् । तत्र प्रायशो लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा ।[2]

Mr. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains सुखरात्रि as the "night of new moon (when lamps are lighted in honour of *Lakṣmī*)," but does not record any usages of this term.

If the above explanations are correct we can form the following equation of all these terms :

यक्षरात्रि = सुखरात्रि (according to यशोधर)
associated with द्यूतक्रीडा and यक्षs.

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* *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. III, Part 2 (1946), pp. 205–216.

1. According to Krishnamachariar (P. 890 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937) Yaśodhara's " gloss is later than Kokkoka (12th cent. A. D.) and cannot be earlier than the 13th century A. D. " Kokkoka is the author of the रतिरहस्य (*Ibid*, p. 892).

2. Mr. B. M. Khuperkar in his Marathi Translation of कामसूत्र and its Commentary by यशोधर, Bombay, 1938, p. 83, translates this passage as follows :— " कार्तिक अमावास्येच्या रात्रीला यक्षरात्र म्हणतात, त्या रात्री यक्षांचे सांनिध्य असते. या रात्रीमध्ये बहुतेक लोक द्यूतक्रीडा करितात. "

=जक्खरत्ती according to हेमचन्द्र (A. D. 1088–1172) is equal to दीवाळी or दीपालिका.

=दीपाली (according to त्रिकाण्डशेष—Before A. D. 1159).

=सुखरात्रि the night of new moon when lamps are lighted in honour of लक्ष्मी (Apte's *Dictionary*).

We can visualize the दीपावली in the above equation but the term सुखरात्रि (given as an equivalent of यक्षरात्रि by यशोधर with two features viz. (1) द्यूतक्रीडा or gambling and (2) यक्ष-संनिधान or association with यक्ष s) remains vague. Let us, therefore, see if we can find out any descriptions of this सुखरात्रि. In this connection I have to point out that Hemādri[1] records the description of a व्रत called सुखसुप्तिका or सुखसुप्तिव्रत (आदित्यपुराणोक्त), which in my opinion is identical with सुखरात्रि mentioned by यशोधर in his commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*. This description reads as follows :—

Pages 348–349 — " सनत्कुमार उवाच ।[2]

अमावास्यान्तु देवाश्च कार्त्तिके मासि केशव ।
अभयं प्राप्य सुप्तास्तु सुखा क्षीरोदसानुषु ॥ १ ॥
लक्ष्मीर्दैत्यभयान्मुक्ता सुखं सुप्ता भुजोदरे ।
चतुर्भुजस्य हस्तान्ते ब्रह्मा सुप्तस्तु पङ्कजे ॥ २ ॥
अतोऽर्थं विधिवत्कार्या मनुष्यैः सुखसुप्तिका ।
दिवा तत्र न भोक्तव्यमृते बालातुरान् जनान् ॥ ३ ॥

1. Vide pp. 348-349 of *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* by Hemādri, Vol. II (Vratakhaṇḍa, Part II) *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta, 1879.

2. The Kashmirian नीलमतपुराण which is supposed to be " *not later than 6th or 7th century A. D.* " by its Editors Ramlal and Zadoo (Vide P. 7 of Intro. to नीलमत, Lahore, 1924) contains दीपमालावर्णन on कार्त्तिकामावास्या or सुखसुप्तिका, which reads as follows :—
Page 49 (Verses 505–515) —

" तथा पक्षे व्यतीते तु कर्त्तव्या सुखसुप्तिका ॥ ५०५ ॥
पञ्चदश्यां यथा विप्र तथा मे गदतः शृणु ।
तस्यां दिवा न भोक्तव्यं बालातुरजनं विना ॥ ५०६ ॥
सूर्ये त्वस्तनुप्राप्ते पूजयित्वा करीषिणीम् ।
दीपवृक्षास्ततो देयाः देवतायतनेषु च ॥ ५०७ ॥
चतुष्पथश्मशानेषु नदीपर्वतवेश्मसु ।
वृक्षमूलेषु गोष्ठेषु चत्वरेष्वापणेषु च ॥ ५०८ ॥

प्रदोषसमये लक्ष्मीं पूजयित्वा ततः क्रमात् ।
दीपवृक्षाश्च दातव्या शक्त्या देवगृहेषु च ॥ ४ ॥
चतुष्पथे श्मशानेषु नदीपर्वतवेश्मसु ।
वृक्षमूलेषु गोष्ठेषु चत्वरेषु गुहासु च ॥ ५ ॥
वस्त्रैः पुष्पैः शोभितव्याः क्रयविक्रयभूमयः ।
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम् ॥ ६ ॥
ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वादौ विभज्य च बुभुक्षितान् ।
अलंकृतेन भोक्तव्यं नववस्त्रोपशोभिना ॥ ७ ॥
स्निग्धैर्मुग्धैर्विदग्धैश्च बान्धवैर्भृतैः सह ।
शङ्करस्तु पुरा द्यूतं ससर्ज सुमनोहरम् ॥ ८ ॥
कार्त्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु प्रथमेऽहनि सत्यवत् ।
जितश्च शङ्करस्तत्र जयं लेभे च पार्वती ॥ ९ ॥
अतोऽर्थं शङ्करो दुःखी उमा नित्यं सुखोषिता ।
तस्माद् द्यूतं प्रवर्त्तव्यं प्रभाते तत्र मानवैः ॥ १० ॥

वस्त्रैश्चैवापणाः सर्वे कर्त्तव्याश्चोपशोभिताः ।
दीपमाला परिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम् ॥ ५०९ ॥
स्वलंकृतैश्च भोक्तव्यं द्विजेन्द्र नववाससा ।
सुहृद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः सार्धं बन्धुभिश्चानुयायिभिः ॥ ५१० ॥
ततः प्राप्ते द्वितीयेऽह्नि स्वनुलिप्तैः स्वलंकृतैः ।
क्रीडितव्यं तथा द्यूतैः श्रोतव्यं गीतवादितम् ॥ ५११ ॥
विशेषवच्च भोक्तव्यैः पूर्वोक्तैस्तैः जनैस्सह ।
तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः ॥ ५१२ ॥
तस्यां रात्रौ तु कर्त्तव्यं शय्यास्थानं सुशोभितम् ।
गन्धैर्वस्त्रैस्तथा धूपैः रत्नैश्चैवाभिलंकृतम् ॥ ५१३ ॥
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्तं तथा धूपेन धूपितम् ।
दयिताभिश्च सहितैः तैर्नेया सा निशा भवेत् ॥ ५१४ ॥
पूज्या नूतनवासोभिः सुहृत्सम्बन्धिबान्धवाः ।
ब्राह्मणाभृत्यवर्गाश्च चन्द्रदेव यथाविधि ॥ ५१५ ॥

इति नी० कार्तिकामायां दीपमालावर्णनम् "

The above passage corresponds to verses 398 to 407 in the Critical Edition of *Nīlamata* (pp. 86–87) by K. S. J. M. de Vreese, Leiden), E. J. Brill, 1936.

तस्मिन् भवेज्जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरं शुभम् ।
पराजये विरुद्धन्तु लब्धनाशस्ततो भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥
श्रोतव्यं गीतवाद्यादि स्वनुलिप्तैः स्वलङ्कृतैः ।
विशेषवच्च भोक्तव्यं प्रशस्तैर्बान्धवैस्सह ॥ १२ ॥
तस्यां निशायां कर्त्तव्यं शय्यास्थानं सुशोभनम् ।
गन्धपुष्पैस्तथा वस्त्रैः रत्नैर्माल्यैरलंकृतम् ॥ १३ ॥
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्तं तथा धूपेन धूपितम् ।
दयिताभिश्च सहितैर्नेया सा च भवेन्निशा ॥ १४ ॥
नवैर्वस्त्रैश्च संपूज्य द्विजसम्बन्धिबान्धवान् ।
इत्यादित्यपुराणोक्तं सुखसुप्तिव्रतम् । "

The foregoing description of सुखसुप्ति or सुखसुप्तिका quoted as an extract from the *Āditya-Purāṇa* by Hemādri (*c.* A. D. 1260) is practically identical[1] with the दीपमालावर्णन (or सुखसुप्तिकावर्णन) found in the Kashmirian *Nīlamatapurāṇa* which is considered "not later than 6th or 7th century A. D." "The historian Kalhaṇa (about 1148 A. D.) drew on the *Nīlamata* in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* for the ancient history of Kashmir and he regarded it as a venerable *Purāṇa*. It must therefore, be several centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's work" — says Dr. Winternitz.[2]

Hemādri states the source of his extract on सुखसुप्तिव्रत viz. आदित्यपुराण but no such statement has been made by the author of the नीलमतपुराण. Presuming that the आदित्यपुराण is earlier than the नीलमतपुराण it is possible to suppose that the नीलमत has borrowed the extract from the आदित्यपुराण which is mentioned by Alberuni (*c. A. D.* 1030) in his list of *Purāṇas*.[3] Even if this supposition is not accepted we are justified in inferring that the सुखसुप्तिकाव्रत and the practice of observing it on the New Moon day of the month of *Kārtika* (कार्तिक-अमावास्या) was current say between A. D. 500 and 800.

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1. This identity is not merely in respect of the contents of the extracts from the आदित्यपुराण and नीलमतपुराण but there is verbal parallelism with slight variations as will be seen from a comparison of the two extracts quoted one below the other.

2. Vide p. 583 of *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927. Kalhaṇa calls the work नीलमत (राजतरङ्गिणी I. 14; 16) or नीलपुराण (I. c. I., 178). The Pandits of Kashmir usually call it नीलमतपुराण.

3. Vide p. 90 of *Purāṇic Records* by Dr. Hazra, Dacca, 1940.

The features of this सुखसुप्तिकाव्रत as revealed by the extract quoted by Hemādri and that from the नीलमतपुराण are as follows :—

(1) This *vrata* is to be observed on कार्तिक अमावास्या.

(2) लक्ष्मी or करीषिणी (the goddess of wealth) is to be worshipped after sun-set (प्रदोषसमये, सूर्ये तु अस्तमनुप्राप्ते).

(3) All persons, except children and sick persons, should observe *fast* by daytime.

(4) After लक्ष्मीपूजन *lamps* should be lighted all round in temples, cross-roads, cemeteries, on mountains, rivers and on houses, at the foot of trees, in cow-sheds, in caves etc.

(5) Market-places should be adorned with festoons and flowers.

(6) At a place illuminated with rows of lamps, food should be distributed to the hungry and Brahmins should be entertained with a dinner, along with all classes of one's relatives and dependents. On this occasion one should wear ornaments and new garments.

(7) On the *1st day* of कार्तिक-शुक्लपक्ष[1] God शंकर was defeated by पार्वती in a dice-play (द्यूत), hence he was in a sorry mood on this day while पार्वती or उमा his consort was in a pleased mood. All people, therefore, indulge in द्यूत early in the morning on this day. Those who win in this द्यूत will have a prosperous year, while those who lose will suffer much loss. One should hear music of all sorts and dine with all one's relatives.

(8) On that night a fine bed should be prepared, decorated with different cloths, jewels and garlands and perfumed with scents and flowers. One should pass this night on this bed in the company of one's wives with rows of lamps on all sides and with incense burning.

(9) On this night all one's friends, relatives and kinsmen as also Brahmins and servants should be honoured with the gifts of new garments.

The time-table of the सुखसुप्तिका celebration as found in the passage from आदित्यपुराण quoted by Hemādri (A. D. 1260) may be represented as follows in relation to the time-table of modern Divālī :—

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1. The नीलमतपुराण does not refer to this date. It merely states " द्वितीयेऽह्नि. " The story of शंकर playing द्यूत with पार्वती on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् is also not mentioned by the नीलमत-पुराण.

Month		Pakṣa	Day	Particulars of Observances
1945 (Deccan)	आश्विन	कृष्ण	१३	धनत्रयोदशी— First day of modern *Divāli*
	Do.	Do.	१४	नरकचतुर्दशी— Second day of modern *Divāli*
	Do.	Do.	१५ अमावास्या	लक्ष्मीपूजन— Third day of modern *Divāli*
	कार्तिक	शुक्ल	१	बलिप्रतिपदा — Fourth day of *Divāli*
	Do.	Do.	२	यमद्वितीया or भाऊबीज Fifth day of *Divāli*
Between A. D. 500 and 1000 A.D. (North India) आदित्यपुराण and नीलमतपुराण	कार्तिक	कृष्ण	१५ अमावास्या	लक्ष्मीपूजन- Observance of सुखसुप्तिकाव्रत - Illuminations all round-Feasting at night but fast by day-Gifts of new garments to all.
	Do.	शुक्ल	१ (प्रथमे अहनि of कार्तिक शुक्लपक्ष)	द्यूत of शंकर and पार्वती— Men should play द्यूत on this day— Feasting with relatives, music, etc.

It will be seen from the above table that the सुखसुप्तिका of the आदित्य-पुराण and the नीलमतपुराण which was celebrated on कार्तिक अमावास्या more than a thousand years ago in North India is now celebrated on आश्विन अमावास्या in the Deccan. The features of the सुखसुप्तिका are practically identical with those of the modern *Divāli* celebrations on आश्विन अमावास्या including the लक्ष्मीपूजन. We can, therefore, equate सुखसुप्तिका with दीवाळी or दीपालिका. The problem of the genesis and development of *Divāli* is a very complicated one but the following equation of different terms for *Divāli* may be helpful towards its clarification :—

यक्षरात्रि =	सुखरात्रि =	सुखसुप्तिका	जक्खरत्ती (यक्षरात्रि)	= दीपाली
Between c. A. D. 100 and 400 (कामसूत्र)	यशोधर on कामसूत्र	Between A. D. 500 and 800 नीलमतपुराण and आदित्यपुराण	A.D. 1088 — 1172 हेमचन्द्र in देशीनाम-माला	Between 1100 and 1159 त्रिकाण्डशेष of पुरुषोत्तमदेव

Now as regards the apparent shifting of the date of लक्ष्मीपूजन day from कार्तिक अमावास्या in the time of the *Ādityapurāṇa* and the *Nīlamata-purāṇa* to आश्विन अमावास्या now current in the Deccan, I have to point out that this shifting is only apparent and not real. In this connection Mr. S. B. Dikshit [1] states that the system of computation of months is पूर्णिमान्त to the *north of Narmadā* river, while it is अमान्त to the *south of Narmadā*. In accordance with this explanation we get the following equation of the two days pertaining to सुखसुप्तिका or Divālī.

अमान्त To the South of Narmadā	पौर्णिमान्त To the North of Narmadā
आश्विन – कृष्ण १५ (अमावास्या) कार्तिक – शुक्ल १ (प्रतिपत्)	= कार्तिक – कृष्ण १५ (अमावास्या) = कार्तिक–शुक्ल १

It will thus be seen that the dates for celebrating the सुखसुप्तिका more than a thousand years ago correspond exactly to the लक्ष्मीपूजन day and the बलिप्रतिपदा day of our modern *Divāli.* Secondly all the features of the सुखसु-प्तिका in respect of joyous ritual and merry-making closely agree with the current features of *Divālī* celebrations on आश्विन अमावास्या and कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् or बलिप्रतिपदा. We may, therefore, conclude that this सुखसुप्तिका of the

1. Vide pp. 392–393 of *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marathi) by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896. I am thankful to Prof. N. A. Gore of the S. P. College, Poona, for drawing my attention to these pages.

आदित्यपुराण is identical with सुखरात्रि (with द्यूत etc.) equated by यशोधर with यक्षरात्रि of the *Kāmasūtra* (*c.* A. D. 100—300).

The *Ādityapurāṇa* or at any rate the passage in it about सुखसुप्तिका appears to have been composed in North India where the पौर्णिमान्त computation of months was current. The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* was definitely compiled in Kashmir and consequently the पौर्णिमान्त computation followed in it can be easily understood.

We now require more descriptive particulars of यक्षरात्रि as such from early sources preferably before A. D. 500. In a late lexicon of A. D. 1660 viz., the *Kalpadrukośa* of Keśava (G. O. series, Baroda, Vol. I. p. 411) I find the following line containing the word यक्षनिद् which is identical with यक्षरात्रि :—

" सिनीवाल्यथ दीपाली यक्षनिद् बलिपर्वं च "

Mr. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives the following explanations of some of the above terms :—

सिनीवाली — The *day preceding that of the new moon*, or that day, on which the moon rises with a scarcely visible crescent.

दीपाली —Particularly the festival called *Divālī* held on the *night of the new moon* in आश्विन.

यक्षरात्रि —the festival called दीपाली (q. v.) (यक्षनिद्=यक्षरात्रि).

Perhaps बलिपर्वं=बलिप्रतिपदा=कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्.

If the line from the *Kalpadrukośa* indicates several days of the modern Divālī Festival we can allocate these terms to their respective days as follows:—

सिनीवाली =आश्विन कृष्ण १४ or नरकचतुर्दशी

दीपाली same as यक्षनिद् } = आश्विन कृष्ण १५ (अमावास्या) (लक्ष्मीपूजन day)

बलिपर्वं =कार्तिक शुक्ल १ or बलिप्रतिपदा

It remains to be seen if there are any sculptures or paintings, early or late, which may be looked upon as representing any aspects of the Divālī festival. The study of the representations of Purāṇic episodes in sculpture or painting would prove a very useful and fruitful occupation to any devoted student of Hindu religion and culture. In the extract from the *Ādityapurāṇa* about *Sukhasuptikā* quoted by Hemādri reference is

made to the story of the dice-play of God Śaṅkara and his consort Pārvatī on *Kārtika* *Śukla* 1 and the defeat of Śaṅkara by his better-half in this dice-play. While this paper was being read out to my friend Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, Director of *the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar*, he observed that this story is represented in the sculptures at Ellora. I requested Mr. Panchamukhi to send me some detailed information about these sculptures and like a true devotee of Sarasvatī Mr. Panchamukhi promptly supplied to me the following information[1] in his letter dated 16th January 1946:—

"While reading your illuminating paper on the history of the *Dīpāvali* festival, I observed that the play of Śiva and Pārvatī with dice is depicted in stone. I have attached extracts from my inspection notes for your information. The play is depicted in the sculptures of the Ellora Caves excavated by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I (A. D. 757–772)."

Extracts from the Inspection Notes :-

"*Ellora Caves* —There are in all 34 caves excavated on the sides of a hill about a mile from the village Verula or Ellora. Of these the first 12 are *Buddhist*, 13–29 *Śaiva* (Hindu) and 30–34 *Jain*.

Cave No. 14 —. . . . The left side wall has the following sculptures :— (5) *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* playing with dice, *Gaṇapati* is standing close by and other attendants with *cauris* in their hands standing at the back.

Nandi below is being teased by the *Gaṇas*.

Cave No. 15 —Scene of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* playing with dice as in the Kailāśa temple, below the bull at the foot being teased by the *Gaṇas*. The *Gandharvas* with garlands in their hands are shown in the air (Ākāśa).

Cave No. 16 —(*Kailāśa* temple)

Four-handed *Śiva* with four-handed *Pārvatī* seated below the tree on the mountain playing at dice. On the rectangular plate spread out in front are placed at the four corners, groups of

1. I take this opportunity of recording my most grateful thanks to Mr. Panchamukhi for this information as also for his scholarly interest in the history of the *Diwālī*. He has promised to prepare a short *article on the Ellora sculptures representing the Śaṅkara-Pārvatī* dice-play (*dyūta*) and send it to me for publication. I have also requested him to prepare similar papers on many other representations of *Purāṇic* stories which he may have noticed in sculptures or paintings. These papers are bound to give a sound historical perspective to these stories.

five *Pagaḍis*. Śiva has in his right hand some *Kauḍis* in the act of being thrown on the ground. *This exactly corresponds to the play of pagaḍis in the Divāli* festival.

Śaṅkara and *Pārvatī* playing with dice. *Śaṅkara* showing by his fore-finger that *Pārvatī* should play one more game, while *Pārvatī* expressing by the palm of her hand that she had played off and finished the game and would not play any further. *Śaṅkara* is holding her hand at the fist to induce her to play and is shown with dice in the other hand. *Śaṅkara* has four hands, while *Pārvatī* has only two.

Cave No. 21 — (*Rāmeśvara*).

Śiva and *Pārvatī* playing at dice, *Śiva* suggesting as before, by the fore-finger that she should play another game ; *Pārvatī* suggesting by her right hand that she had won the play and finished the game. *Śiva*, however, drags her by the skirts of her garment and begins to play with dice by another hand. One of the female attendants is waving a fan and another holds the braid of hair of *Pārvatī*."

The above notes on the Ellora sculptures of the *8th century A. D.* pertaining to the *Śaṅkara-Pārvatī dice-play* are sufficiently illuminating. The relation of this dice-play to the dice-play of men and women on the Divālī day on *Kārtika Śukla* 1 as mentioned in the *Ādityapurāṇa* extract quoted by Hemādri (*c.* A. D. 1260)[1] needs to be further investigated from sources earlier than A. D. 700, both literary and sculptural. It remains to be seen if the association of *Sukharātri* (= Yakṣarātri = *Divālī*) with *dyūta* or dice-play pointed out by Yośodhara has a definite origin in the dice-play of *Śaṅkara* and *Pārvatī* on *Kārtika Śukla Pratipadā* as mentioned

1. Compare extract from *Ādityapurāṇa* quoted by Hemādri :—

" शङ्करस्तु पुरा द्यूतं ससर्ज सुमनोहरम् ॥ ८ ॥
कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु प्रथमेऽहनि सत्यवत् ।
जितश्च शङ्करस्तत्र जयं लेभे च पार्वती ॥ ९ ॥
अतोऽर्थं शङ्करो दुःखी उमा नित्यं सुखोषिता ।"

Judging by Mr. Panchamukhi's notes the artist of the Ellora Kailāśa temple sculptures has put in stone the spirit of elation of *Pārvatī* and the crest-fallen bewilderment of Śaṅkara in a marvellously delightful manner.

in the *Ādityapurāṇa.* Is it possible to suppose that the Ellora sculptures representing this dice-play have any connection with the dice-play on the Divālī day? We have already seen that Somadeva Sūri who gives us a description of the Divālī festival in A. D. 959 lived in the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III about 200 years later than Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa I (A. D. 757-772) who excavated the Ellora caves, in which we find the sculptures about *Śaṅkara-Pārvatī-dyūta* or dice-play so vividly depicted. I hope that the students of the history of Indian art would throw some search-light on this question and clarify some of the issues in this paper.

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20. Studies in the History of Indian Festivals–
The Divālī Festival*

Some Purāṇic Texts on the Observance of the Divālī Festival as quoted by Hemādri in his Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi (c. A. D. 1260)

In my recent paper[1] on " *The Sukhasuptikā of the Ādityapurāṇa and the Nīlamatapurāṇa (A. D. 500–800) and its Relation to the Modern Divāli Festival* " I recorded the following equation :—

यक्षरात्रि of कामसूत्र } = { सुखरात्रि (according to यशोधर) associated with द्यूतक्रीडा and यक्षs.

= जक्खरत्ती which according to Hemacandra (*A. D. 1088–1172*) is equal to दीवाली or दीपालिका.

= दीपाली { according to त्रिकाण्डशेष Before A. D. 1159 }

= सुखरात्रि[2] the night of the New Moon when lamps are lighted in honour of लक्ष्मी (Apte's Dictionary).

= दीपालिका (according to त्रिकाण्डशेष—Between *A. D. 1100* and *1159*).

= सुखसुप्तिका of the नीलमतपुराण (Between *A. D. 500* and *800*) and the आदित्यपुराण (quoted by Hemādri – c. *A. D. 1260*).

I have now to record the following extract from Hemādri's चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (कालनिर्णयखण्ड, Calcutta, Bib. Indica, 1889) in support of the above equation :—

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* *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (March 1947), pp. 58–73.

1. Vide pp. 205–216 of the *Journal of the Jha Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. III, Part 2 (February 1946).

2. Vide folio 53 of *MS No. 344 of* 1875–76 of कालनिर्णयसिद्धांत with टीका by रघुराम, who observes :—

" तदुक्तं स्मृत्यंतरे । अमावास्यां यदा रात्रौ दिवा भोगे चतुर्दशी ।

पूजनीया तदा लक्ष्मीर्विज्ञेया सुखरात्रिका ॥ इति "

Pages 914–916 —

" ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे—

तुलायां तिलतैलेन सायं संध्यासमागमे ।

आकाशदीपं[1] यो दद्यान्मासमेकं निरन्तरम् ।

सश्रीकाय श्रीपतये स श्रिया न विमुच्यते ॥

दामोदराय नभसि तुलायां लोलया सह ।

प्रदीपं ते प्रयच्छामि नमोऽनन्ताय वेधसे ॥

इति दीपदानमन्त्रः ।

अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये[2] लक्ष्मीर्निद्रां विमुञ्चति ।

सुखरात्रि[3] स्वरूपा सा प्रदीपोज्ज्वलनाय वै ॥

कुसुम्भकुसुमैर्गन्धैर्दीपैर्गोरोचनाफलैः ।

वसुधूपैर्धूनवस्त्रैश्च पुष्पैरेकुशलया गिरा ।

पूजयेच्च[4] सदा लक्ष्मीमलक्ष्मीं मलनाशिनीम् ।

क्षये पञ्चपताकानां ध्वजमेकं गृहे न्यसेत् ।

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1. Vide folio 141 of *MS No. 325 of 1880-81* (B. O. R. Institute) of कालनिर्णय of आदित्य-महोपाध्याय कविवल्लभ — This author refers to आकाशदीप as follows:—

" तैलेनाश्वयुजं मासं दीपमाकाशवर्त्तिनं ।
दीप्यस्य हरये दत्वा महतीश्रम (श्रिय) मश्नुते ॥ "

He further refers to लक्ष्मीपूजन on आश्विन अमावास्या together with अभ्यंगस्नान, नीरांजन, etc. He quotes from वाराहपुराण (" कार्त्तिके भौमवारेण " etc.), from पुष्करपुराण (" स्वातिस्थिते रवाविंदुः " etc.) and from ब्रह्मपुराण (" ऊर्ध्वे शुक्रद्वितीयायाः ") in his treatment of दीपावली.

2. The expression " अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये " may be compared with the statement of *Alberuni* (A. D. 1030) in his description of *Divālī* (Vide p. 182 of Vol. II of *Alberuni's India*, ed. by E. C. Sachau, London). Alberuni says:—

" 1st Kārtika or *new moon's day when the Sun marches in Libra* is called *Divālī* "

3. Yaśodhara explains the सुखरात्रि as " सुखरात्रिः । यक्षाणां तत्र सन्निधानात् । तत्र प्रायशो लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा । "

4. In the celebration of modern Divālī the लक्ष्मीपूजन takes place on आश्विन कृष्ण अमावास्या (= कार्तिक कृष्ण अमावास्या in North India).

वाराहे ।

अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये लक्ष्मीर्निद्रां विमुञ्चति ।
तस्मिन् शुक्ले यदा विष्णुस्तुलायामथ वृश्चिके ॥
लक्ष्मीप्रबोधः[1] दीपा (पा) लिका इति यस्य लोके प्रसिद्धिः ।
कौमुदी यक्षरात्रिश्च कौसुमी फाल्गुनी तथा ।
वासन्तिरिति विज्ञेया देशस्य महिमाश्रये[2] ॥
आश्विने पौर्णमास्यान्तु निशादेः क्रीडनं स्मृतम् ।
कौमुदी सा समाख्याता कार्य्या लोकविभूतये ॥
कार्त्तिके सितपक्षादौ तिथौ तु कुसुमांशुकैः ।
यक्षार्चा यक्षरात्रिः स्यात् कार्या चेष्टसुखाय सा ॥

1. According to Hemādri लक्ष्मीप्रबोध = दीपालिका
= सुखरात्रि

The time of लक्ष्मीप्रबोध (or दीपालिका) is uniformly indicated by the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, वाराहपुराण and ज्योतिःशास्त्र by one and the same line " अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये लक्ष्मीर्निद्रां विमुञ्चति " in which the words " अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये " mean "On the New Moon Day when the Sun (आदित्य) is in the *Libra* (तुला) Sign of the Zodiac." Alberuni seems as it were to translate this line when he states : "1st Kārtika *or New Moon's Day when the Sun marches in Libra* is called *Diwali*."

According to Dr. Hazra (p. 23 of *Purāṇic Records*, Dacca 1940) "Indians were not familiar with *Rāśis* earlier than the 2nd Century A. D." If this statement is correct all the texts about *Divāli* (quoted by Hemādri) containing a reference to तुला राशि are *later than the 2nd Century A. D.* Hazra states (p. 104) that "Hemādri has verses 82-83 and 85-88 from *Chap. 99*, verses 1-52 (of वाराहपुराण) and verses 31-40 from *Chap. 112*" (of the same), which is "*not later than 1100*" (p. 105). Chapters 1-80 and 98 of the वाराहपुराण now extant are the oldest, being assigned to *c. A. D. 800* by Dr. Hazra.

2. The *Kāmasūtra* mentions three festivals viz. (1) यक्षरात्रि, (2) कौमुदीजागर and (3) सुवसन्तक. These are called " माहिमान्यः क्रीडाः " by Yaśodhara. According to वाराहपुराण quoted by Hemādri the important festivals or rather the national festivals (देशस्य महिमाश्रये) are:— (1) कौमुदी, (2) यक्षरात्रि, (3) कौसुमी, (4) फाल्गुनी, (5) वासन्ति or वासन्तिक. According to Yaśodhara यक्षरात्रि = सुखरात्रि; कौमुदी जागर takes place on आश्विन full-moon day (आश्वयुज्यां हि पौर्णमास्यां); and सुवसन्तक = मदनोत्सव (तत्र नृत्यगीतवाद्यप्रायाः क्रीडाः)

Virabhadra in his metrical commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* explains the three festivals of *Kāmasūtra* as follows:—

" कुर्वीत यक्षरात्रिं सुखरात्रिः सा च कथ्यते लोके ।
ऐक्यं कोजागरया कौमुद्यास्तत्र निर्दिष्टम् ॥
सुवसन्तकोऽत्र शास्त्रे भवति वसन्तस्य वासरः प्रथमः । "

(Vide p. 56 of *Kāmasūtra* ed. by Kedarnath, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1900)

माघशुक्लचतुर्थ्यान्तु वरमाराध्य च श्रियः ।
पञ्चम्यां कुन्दकुसुमैः पूजा सा कौसुमी स्मृता ॥
फाल्गुने पौर्णमास्यान्तु यदा बालविलासकः ।
ज्ञेया सा फाल्गुनी लोके कार्या लोकसहृदये ॥
चैत्राष्टम्यामशोकैस्तु त्रयोदश्यां स्मरार्चनम् ।
तत्र कार्य्यमशोकार्थं ज्ञेया वासन्तिकेति सा ॥

अथ ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।

अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये लक्ष्मीर्निद्रां विमुञ्चति ।
तस्मिन् शुक्ले यदा विष्णु स्तुलायामधिगच्छति ।
उत्तिष्ठत्यग्रतो विष्णुः पश्चात् कृष्णचतुर्दशीम् ।

अथ भविष्यपुराणे ।

स्नानं दानं शतगुणं कार्तिके या तिथिर्भवेत् ।
प्रतिपद् ब्रह्मणश्चापि गुडमिश्रैः सदीपकैः ।
वासोभिरहतैश्चार्चैर्गच्छेत्तद् ब्रह्मणः पदम् ॥
पुष्पैर्गन्धैर्नवैर्वस्त्रैरात्मानं पूजयेद्बुधः ।
तस्यां प्रतिपदायाञ्च स गच्छेद् ब्रह्मणः पदम् ॥ [1]

इति ...... कालनिर्णये विष्णुशयनादिकालनिर्णयो नाम सप्तदशोऽध्यायः ॥ "

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1. Hemādri in व्रतखण्ड (of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि) Chap. 21 quotes (after सुखसुप्तिव्रत description) extracts (pp. 350-359) about कौमुदी महोत्सव as specified below :—

(i) पद्मपुराणे — " कार्तिके मास्यमावास्या तस्यां दीपप्रदीपनं ।
शालायां ब्रह्मणः कुर्यात् स गच्छेत्परमं पदं ॥
प्रतिपदि ब्रह्मण्यश्च गुडमिश्रैः सदीपकैः ।
वासोभिरहतैः पूज्या गच्छेद्वै ब्रह्मणः पुरं ॥
स्नाने दानं शतगुणं कार्तिकायां तथा नृप ।
बलिराज्येषु शुभदा पांशुनाशुभनाशिनी ॥ "

(ii) वामनपुराणे — extract about वीरप्रतिपदा उत्सव described by त्रिविक्रम to बलि.

(iii) भविष्योत्तरात् — Dialogue between श्रीकृष्ण and युधिष्ठिर — नरकचतुर्दशीस्नान on " कार्तिके-कृष्णपक्षे तु चतुर्दश्यां दिनोदये " — नरक दीप, दीपs to be kept all round, in mansions, temples, palaces etc. —द्यूत, पान etc. of men and women — पार्वणश्राद्ध, विप्रभोजन—नृत्य, वादन etc.— Royal procession to inspect the illuminations — पादाभ्यङ्गप्रदायिनी वेश्या going from house to house in the morning — सुवासिनीदान by the king — presents to all men by the King— मार्गपाली Ceremony —बलिपूजा and दीपोत्सव.

The contents of the above extracts given by Hemādri (c. A. D. 1260) from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, वाराहपुराण, ज्योतिःशास्त्र and भविष्यपुराण may be tabulated as follows:—

Source	Festival	Features	Time
ब्रह्माण्डपुराण	लक्ष्मीनिद्राविमोचन called "लक्ष्मीप्रबोध" or दीपालिका by Hemādri	आकाशदीप of तिलतैल in the evening in honour of god दामोदर-लक्ष्मीनिद्राविमोचन—सुखरात्रि—प्रदीपोज्ज्वलन — लक्ष्मीपूजन — अलक्ष्मीमलनाशनं—Honouring newly-married women (नववधूः).	"तुलायां" or "अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये"
वाराह (पुराण)	Do	लक्ष्मीनिद्राविमोचन — Description of five national festivals:—	"अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये"
		(1) कौमुदी—"निशादेः क्रीडनं"	"आश्विने पौर्णमास्यां"
		(2) यक्षरात्रि— "कुसुमांशुकैः यक्षार्चा इष्टसुखाय कार्या"	"कार्तिक सितपक्ष आदौ तिथौ"
		(3) कौसुमी— "श्रियाः वरमाराध्य माघशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां कुन्दकुसुमैः पञ्चम्यां पूजा"	"माघशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां पञ्चम्यां"
		(4) फाल्गुनी—"वासविलासकः" —"लोकसमृद्धये कार्या"	"फाल्गुने पौर्णमास्यां"
		(5) वासन्ति or वासन्तिका—"अशोकैः अशोकार्यं स्मरार्चनं कार्यम्"	"चैत्राष्टम्यां" "त्रयोदश्यां"
ज्योतिःशास्त्र	Do	लक्ष्मीनिद्राविमोचन—विष्णुप्रबोध (शुक्ले तुलायां)—on page 810 we read:— मिथुनस्थे सहस्रांशौ स्वपथेन्मधुसूदनं । तुलायां च महाराज पुनरुत्थापयेत्तथा ॥	"अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये"
भविष्यपुराण	ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपद्	स्नान, दान, with "गुडमिश्रैः सदीपकैः" अहतैः वासोभिः—"पुष्पैः गन्धैः नवैः वस्त्रैः आत्मानं पूजयेद्बुधः"	"कार्तिक प्रतिपद्"

Among the details recorded in the above table I am specially interested in the following:—

(1) लक्ष्मीपूजन etc. on the लक्ष्मीप्रबोध night viz. the अमावास्या when the Sun is in तुला (Libra) Sign of the Zodiac (according to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण).

(2) यक्षार्चा etc. on यक्षरात्रि on कार्तिक सितपक्ष (शुक्ल) आद्ौ तिथौ i.e. प्रतिपद्[1] (according to वाराहपुराण).

Hemacandra equates जक्खरत्ति or यक्षरात्रि with दीवालि or दीपालिका but does not specify its time. Hemādri equates लक्ष्मीप्रबोध on अमावास्या (of आश्विन) with दीपालिका and quotes the वाराहपुराण, which refers to the celebration of यक्षरात्रि (attended with the worship of यक्ष॰) on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपद्. At present आश्विन अमावास्या and कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपद्, which follows it, are both included in the term *Divālī*.

In Chapter 13 of the *Kālanirṇaya Khaṇḍa* (pp. 614–617 of Bib. Indica Edn., 1885) Hemādri quotes some texts describing "पुण्यप्रतिपद्" from (1) पद्मपुराण, (2) भविष्यपुराण, (3) वाराहपुराण, (4) देवीपुराण, (5) ब्रह्मपुराण and (6) वामनपुराण. As these texts have a direct bearing on the history of the Divālī Festival associated with the प्रतिपत् of कार्तिकशुक्लपक्ष I reproduce them below to enable scholars to study them in their historical and cultural perspective :—

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1. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (c. A. D. 1560—1620) in his कालनिर्णयसंक्षेप (MS No. 344 of 1891—95 in Govt. MSS Library, B. O. R. Institute, folio 28) prescribes धनदपूजा (यक्षराट्पूजा) on a प्रतिपत् :—

"तिथिविशेषे देवताविशेषपूजा स्मर्यते । प्रतिपद्धनदस्योक्ता द्वितीया तु श्रियः स्मृता । तृतीया तु भवान्याः स्याच्चतुर्थी तत्सुतस्य ॥ etc."

In the कालनिर्णयदीपिकाविवरण (MS No. 99 of 1871—72) by नृसिंह the above stanza is introduced as follows on folio 119 :—

"तथा च पितामहः । प्रतिपद्धनदस्योक्ता ········ तत्सुतस्य च"

Before this stanza another verse associating श्रीद or धनद with प्रतिपत् is given as follows :—

"श्रीद श्रीगिरिजागणेशभुजगस्कंदार्कदुर्गाः क्रमाद् —
अंबायातुकिमुन्यजस्मरशिवाभोगासना श्वेश्वराः
एते स्युः प्रतिपन्मुखासु तिथिष्विति । श्रीदो धनदः । अंबा मातरः
अजो विष्णुः अंभोजासनो ब्रह्मा । "

"अथ प्रतिपत्क्रमेण पुण्यतिथयः। तत्र तावत् पुण्या प्रतिपत्।[1]

पद्मपुराणे।

चैत्रे मासि महाबाहो पुण्या प्रतिपदा पुरा।
तस्यां यस्तपनं इष्ट्वा स्नानं कुर्यान्नरोत्तमः॥
न तस्य दुरितं किंचिन्नाधयो व्याधयो नृप।
भवन्ति कुरुशार्दूल तस्यां स्नानं समाचरेत्॥
दिव्यनीराजनं तद्धि सर्वरोगविनाशकम्।
गो-महिष्यादि यत्किञ्चित्तत्सर्वं भूषयेन्नृपः॥
चूर्णवस्त्रादिभिः सर्वैस्तोरणाधस्ततो नयेत्।
ब्राह्मणानां तथा भोज्यं कुर्यात्कुरुकुलोद्वह॥
तिस्र एताः पुरा प्रोक्तास्तिथयः कुरुनन्दन।
कार्त्तिकाश्वयुजे मासि चैत्रे वापि तथा नृप॥

भविष्यत्पुराणे।

तिथीनां प्रवरा यस्माद्ब्रह्मणा समुदाहृता।
प्रतिपादिता यदा पूर्वं प्रतिपत् तेन उच्यते॥
तिस्रो ह्येताः पुरा प्रोक्तास्तिथयः कुरुनन्दन।
कार्त्तिके चाश्विने मासि चैत्रे मासि च भारत॥
स्नानं दानं शतगुणं कार्त्तिके या तिथिर्भवेत्।
अग्निमिष्ट्वा च हुत्वा च प्रतिपद्यपि भारत॥
हविषा सर्वधान्यानि प्राप्नुयादमितं धनम्।

वाराहे।

कार्त्तिके सितपक्षादौ तिथौ तु कुसुमांशुके॥

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1. Divākara Kāla in his कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका (MS No. 318 of 1891—95—B. O. R. Institute, Folios 56—59) describes the ceremonies and ritual about दीपोत्सव starting with आश्विन कृष्णद्वादशी and ending with यमद्वितीया. He quotes numerous texts on this topic such as "तिथितत्त्वे ज्योतिर्निबन्धे नारदोक्तेः", "निर्णयामृते स्कांदोक्तेः", "हेमाद्रौ निर्णयामृते भविष्योक्तेः", स्कान्दात्, दिवोदासः, चंद्रप्रकाशे, भविष्योक्तेः, ब्राह्मोक्तेः, संग्रह-पाद्मयोरुक्तेः, विष्णोक्तेः, वैद्यके राजनिघंटूक्तेः, मदनरत्ने पाद्मोक्तेः, संग्रहात्, गौतमस्मृतौ, भट्टोजीये, काशीखंडे, पाद्मोक्तेः, व्यासस्मृतौ, वृद्धमनूक्तेः, लिंगे, हेमाद्रौ स्कांदोक्तेः, दिवोदासीयोक्तेः, दिवोदासीये गार्ग्यः, कालादर्शे, ज्योतिःशास्त्रोक्तेः, निर्णयसिंधुः (A. D. 1612), माधवीये, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, भविष्ये, मात्स्योक्तेः, मैथिलीय-दानवल्याम्, दिवोदासप्रकाशे स्कांदभविष्ययोरुक्तेः, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणोक्तेः.

यात्रार्चा[1] यत्र रात्रौ स्यात्कार्या चेष्टसुखाय सा ।
वासोभिरहतैः पूज्य गच्छेद्वै ब्रह्मणः पदम् ॥[2]

ब्रह्मपुराणे ।

कार्त्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु विधानं द्वितयं हि तत् ।
नारीनीराजनं प्रातः सायं मङ्गलमालिका ॥
अथ चेत् प्रतिपत् स्वल्पा नारीनीराजनं भवेत् ।
द्वितीयायां तदा कुर्यात् सायं मङ्गलमालिका ॥

भविष्यत्पुराणे ।

लभ्येत यदि वा प्रातः प्रतिपद् घटिकाद्वयम् ।
तस्यां नीराजनं कार्यं सायं मङ्गलमालिका ॥

तथा च देवीपुराणे ।

प्रातर्वा यदि लभ्येत प्रतिपद् घटिका शुभा ।
द्वितीयायां तदा कुर्यात् सायं मङ्गलमालिका ॥
आश्विनान्ते यदा दर्शे नारीनीराजनं भवेत् ।
नारीणां तत्र वैधव्यं देशे दुर्भिक्षमेव च ।
कार्त्तिके शुक्लपक्षादावमावास्या घटीद्वयम् ।
देशभङ्गभयाच्चैव कुर्याद् मङ्गलमालिका ॥

ब्रह्मपुराणे ।

कार्त्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु प्रथमेऽ(ह)नि सत्यवान् ।
जितश्च शङ्करस्तत्र जयं लेभे च पार्वती ॥
ततोऽहं शङ्करो दुःखी गौरीनित्यसुखोषिता ।
तस्माद्द्यूतं प्रकर्तव्यं प्रभाते तत्र मानवैः ॥
तस्मिन्द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः ।
पराजयो विरुद्धश्च लाभनाशकरो भवेत् ॥
श्रोतव्यं गीतवाद्यादि स्वानुलिप्तैः स्वलङ्कृतैः ।
विशेषतश्च भोक्तव्यं प्रशस्तैर्बान्धवैः सह ॥

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1. "यात्रार्चा" is possibly a misreading for यक्षाणां found in the following lines quoted by Hemādri from the वाराहपुराण (description of यक्षरात्रि) —

" कार्त्तिके सितपक्षादौ तिथौ तु कुसुमांशुकैः ।
यक्षाणां यक्षरात्रिः स्यात् कार्या चेष्टसुखाय सा ॥ "

2. This line "वासोभिः ······ ब्रह्मणः पदम्" is also found in the extract from भविष्यत्पुराण (कालनिर्णय खण्ड) quoted by Hemādri.

तस्यां निशायां कर्त्तव्यं शय्यास्थानं सुशोभनम् ।
गन्धैः पुष्पैस्तथा वस्त्रैर्दिव्यरत्नैरलङ्कृतम् ॥
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्तं तथा धूपेन धूपितम् ।
दयिताभिश्च सहितैर्नेया सा च भवेन्निशा ।
नैवेद्यैश्चैव संपूज्या द्विज-सम्बन्धि-बान्धवाः ॥ [1]

पद्मपुराणे ।

प्रतिपदि च ब्रह्माणं गुडमिश्रैः प्रदीपकैः ।
वासोभिरहतैः पूज्य गच्छेद्वै ब्रह्मणः पदं ॥
गन्धैः पुष्पैर्वस्त्रैर्नैवेद्यैस्तत्स्थानं भूषयेन्नरः ।
तस्यां प्रतिपदायां तु स गच्छेद्ब्रह्मणः पदम् ॥
महापुण्या तिथिरियं बलिराज्यप्रवर्तिनी ।
ब्रह्मणो हि प्रिया नित्यं बालेयी परिकीर्तिता ॥

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1. The extract (कार्तिके......बान्धवाः) is identical with verses 9-15 of the description of सुखसुप्तिका (आदित्यपुराणोक्त) quoted by Hemādri in the व्रतखण्ड (Pages 348-349). Preceding the description of सुखसुप्तिका the description of कामधेनु व्रत from वह्निपुराण is given (Pages 344-348) by Hemādri, in which I find the following verses :—

" पापिनः पितरो ये च लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः ।
चतुर्दश्याममावस्यां पिण्डदस्याप्नुवन्ति ते ॥
तत्र श्रीः पूजनीया तु मनुष्याणां प्रयत्नतः ।
बन्धुभिः सहितैः पत्न्या नृत्यगीतप्रवादनैः ॥
यदि हर्षं प्रयातीह तस्य संवत्सरं जयं ।
द्यूते तु क्रीडिते हानौ हानिः स्याद्विजये ध्रुवं ॥
सुखप्रीतिसुलाभः स्याद्वत्सरं मनुजस्य तु ।
गौर्या जिता पुरा शम्भुर्नग्नो द्यूतैर्विसर्जितः ॥
तेनासौ शङ्करो दुःखी सर्वदोमा सुखान्विता ।
श्रिया सार्द्धं जगद्योनिः शेते विष्णु सुखान्विता ॥
तस्या रात्रौ जनानां तु अतोऽर्थं सुखसुप्तिका । "

It will be seen from this extract that the story of शंकरपार्वती द्यूत here mentioned as taken from वह्निपुराण is also found in the ब्रह्मपुराण and आदित्यपुराण extracts quoted by Hemādri.

ब्राह्मणान्पूजयेद्यो ऽस्यां मानं च विशेषतः ।
स याति परमं स्थानं विष्णोरमिततेजसः ॥

वामनपुराणे । बलिं प्रति त्रिविक्रम उवाच ।

वीरप्रतिपदा नाम तव भावी महोत्सवः ।
तत्र त्वां नरशार्दूल नरा हृष्टा स्वलङ्कृताः ॥
पुष्पधूपप्रदानेन अर्चयिष्यन्ति यत्नतः ।
तत्रोत्सवो मुख्यतमो भविष्यति दिवानिशम् ॥ "

इति पुण्यप्रतिपत् ॥

The contents of the above extracts will be clear from the following table:—

Source	Festival	Features	Time
पद्मपुराण	चैत्रप्रतिपत्	स्नान, दिव्यनीराजन, गोमहिष्यादिभूषण, ब्राह्मणभोजन — Three old and important तिथिs are (1) चैत्र प्रतिपत् (2) आश्विन प्रतिपत् (3) कार्तिक प्रतिपत्	चैत्र प्रतिपत्
भविष्यपुराण	कार्तिक प्रतिपत्	Definition of प्रतिपत् :— "प्रतिपादिता यदा पूर्वं प्रतिपत्तेन उच्यते"– Three great तिथिs :— (1) कार्तिक प्रतिपत् (2) आश्विन प्रतिपत् (3) चैत्र प्रतिपत् —Features of कार्तिक प्रतिपत् are :—स्नान, दान, अग्निहविः,–A man gets "सर्वधान्यानि" and "अमितं धनं" by observing the above features.	कार्तिक प्रतिपत्
वाराहपुराण	कार्तिक प्रतिपत्	" कुसुमांशुकैः रात्रौ यात्रार्चा (बल्यर्चा)– पूजा with new garments (अहतैः वासोभिः)	" कार्तिके सितपक्षादौ तिथौ "

ब्रह्मपुराण	कार्तिक प्रतिपद्	(1) नारीनीराजन in the morning and (2) मङ्गलमालिका in the evening. If the प्रतिपद् is स्वल्पा these features are shifted to द्वितीया.	कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपद् and द्वितीया
भविष्यत्पुराण	Do	नीराजन to be observed in the घटिकाद्वय of प्रतिपद् at sunrise and मङ्गलमालिका to be observed in the evening.	Do
देवीपुराण	Do	If प्रतिपद् is only for one घटिका in the morning, मङ्गलमालिका should be observed on the evening of द्वितीया — If नीराजन is observed in the दर्श i. e. अमावास्या at the close of आश्विन, it results in widowhood to ladies and famine in the country — At the commencement of कार्तिक शुक्लपक्ष there is अमावास्या for 2 घटिकाs (घटीद्वयम्). Hence मङ्गलमालिका should not be observed during this time (of अमावास्या) as such observance is ruinous to the country.	Do
ब्रह्मपुराण	Do	द्यूत of शङ्कर and पार्वती (in which शङ्कर was conquered by पार्वती) took place on this day — all men should play द्यूत on this day.— गीतवाद्य etc.— बन्धुभोजन— Passing the night in the company of दयिताs— दीपमाला- Offering new garments to Brahmins, relatives etc.	Do
पद्मपुराण	Do	Offering of गुड, दीप, and new garments (अहतैः वासोभिः) to God Brahmā and worshi-	Do

		pping him with गन्ध, पुष्प etc.—This प्रतिपदा is loved by Brahmā. It is बलिराज्यप्रवर्तिनी and is hence called "बालेयी."—One worshipping Brahmins on this day attains विष्णुस्थान.	
वामनपुराण	Do	The great festival of वीरप्रतिपदा with पुष्प, धूप, दान etc. takes place (on this प्रतिपत्) day and night.	Do

The features of the *Divali* festival as set forth in the Purāṇic extracts quoted by Hemādri (c. A. D. 1260) amply show that this national festival possessed long prior to A. D. 1200 many of its varied cultural details which we now notice in the celebration of the festival year after year. As the Purāṇas are a mixture of texts of varied chronology it is convenient to make use of them through quotations from them taken in datable sources, which are helpful to the historical reconstruction of ancient Indian life and culture.

The evidence about the history of the *Divali* festival so far collected by me tends to suggest that the यक्षरात्रि mentioned by the *Kāmasūtra* contains the oldest nucleus of our modern *Divali* festival. Unfortunately we have no details about its celebration about 2000 years ago. My study has so far disclosed the following facts about it:—

(1) According to Yaśodhara the यक्षरात्रि is attended with यक्ष and द्यूतक्रीडा.

(2) According to the वाराहपुराण extract quoted by Hemādri the यक्षरात्रि was celebrated on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् with worship of यक्ष (यक्षार्चा).

In the present ceremonial of the *Divāli* festival I have not noticed any worship of the यक्ष referred to in the वाराहपुराण extract quoted by Hemādri. It appears, however, that as late as about 1800 A. D. the worship of कुबेर, the king of the यक्ष, was known as a feature of the *Divāli* ritual to some celebrated writers on *Dharmaśāstra* as will be seen from the evidence traced by me:—

(1) Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe[1] (c. 1800 A. D.) in his commentary on the *Nirṇayasindhu* (A. D. 1612) of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa prescribes कुबेरपूजा after

1. Vide my paper on "*Some Authors of the Ārḍe Family*" (*Between A. D. 1600 and 1825*) in the Journal of the Bombay University, Vol. XII, Pt. II, September 1943, pp. 68-69.

लक्ष्मीपूजा on the evening of सुखरात्रि (p. 714 of the Chowkhamba Edition of the *Nirṇayasindhu*, Benares, 1930) :—

Text of Nirṇayasindhu :— " अत्र विशेषो हेमाद्रौ भविष्ये—

" दिवा तत्र न भोक्तव्यमृते बालातुराज्जनात् ।
प्रदोषसमये लक्ष्मीं पूजयित्वा ततः क्रमात् ॥ "

Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa comments :—

" प्रदोषेति । प्रदोषे ' लक्ष्म्यै नमः ' इति नाममन्त्रेण लक्ष्मीं संपूज्य दीपदानं कार्यमित्यर्थः । ततः क्रमादिति पदात् लक्ष्मीपूजानन्तरं प्रार्थना कार्या—

" नमस्ते सर्व देवानां वरदाऽसि हरिप्रिया ।
या गतिस्त्वत्प्रपन्नानां सा मे भूयात्वदर्चनात् " इति ।

कुबेरपूजापि कार्या—

" सुखरात्र्याः प्रदोषे तु कुबेरं पूजयन्ति वै । " इति

वाक्यात् । तत्र मन्त्रः—

" धनदाय नमस्तुभ्यं निधिपद्माधिपाय च ।
भवन्तु त्वत्प्रसादान्मे धनधान्यादिसम्पदः ॥ "

इति । केचित्तु धनदपूजां त्रयोदशी[1] प्रदोषे कुर्वन्ति, तन्निर्मूलम् । "

It will be seen from the above extract that Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa adds कुबेरपूजा to the ritual about *Divālī* mentioned in the *Nirṇayasindhu*, which does not refer to कुबेरपूजा in its account of the *Divālī*. Unfortunately Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa does not mention the names of texts from which he quotes in support of his view that कुबेरपूजा should be performed after लक्ष्मीपूजा on the सुखरात्रिप्रदोष.

(2) Kāśinātha Upādhyāya (alias Bābā Pādhye—A. D. 1790–1806) also adds कुबेरपूजा to लक्ष्मीपूजा on the शुक्ल प्रतिपत् of कार्तिक as follows (Vide folio 36 of *Dharmasindhu* printed in the Jaganmitra Press, Ratnagiri, by Janardan Hari Athlye) :—..

" अथ कार्तिकशुक्लप्रतिपत्कृत्यं ....

.........अत्र लक्ष्मीपूजा कुबेरपूजा चोक्ता etc.)

Kāśinātha does not quote any texts in support of the कुबेरपूजा prescribed by him.

It is clear from the reference to कुबेरपूजा on the Divālī days made by two authors, who lived about A. D. 1800, that according to them the

1. Cf. the following statement about the association of कुबेर with त्रयोदशी :—

" त्रयोदशी धनाध्यक्षः कुबेरः पिबते कलाम् "

Vide fol. 47 of MS *No 325 of 1880–81* (B. O. R. Institute) of कालनिर्णय of माधवाचार्य (*c. 1350 A. D.*).

कुबेरपूजा was a necessary ritual of the Divālī festival as important as the लक्ष्मीपूजा. I am of opinion that this कुबेरपूजा is identical with यक्षार्चा on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपद् mentioned in the वाराहपुराण extract quoted by Hemādri (c. A.D. 1260). We must now try to hunt up more textual evidence in support of the कुबेरपूजा or धनदपूजा on the Divālī days, which is possibly a relic of the यक्षरात्रि. The present Divālī ritual is preponderently Vaiṣṇavite. With the growth of Vaiṣṇavism लक्ष्मीपूजा (or worship of लक्ष्मी or goddess of wealth on the Divālī days) threw into back-ground the कुबेरपूजा (or यक्षराट्पूजा or यक्षार्चा) or worship of Kubera, the god of riches, associated with यक्षरात्रि. If this hypothesis about the genesis and development of the *Divālī* festival is correct we can easily explain how the term यक्षरात्रि fell into disuse and was replaced by the term दीपालिका with its elaborate Vaiṣṇavite observances such as लक्ष्मीपूजा, बलिपूजा, गोक्रीडन, गोवर्धनपूजा etc. In this connection I may point out that Gopālabhaṭṭa (A. D. 1530), one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins codified the ritual and practices of Caitanyaism in his elaborate and erudite *Haribhaktivilāsa* (20 chapters). In this exhaustive metrical compendium of Vaiṣṇava *Ācāra* and *Anuṣṭhāna*, of which a brief survey has been given by S. K. De in his *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1942), chapter XVI (pp. 381–383) is entirely devoted to the vows and observances to be observed by a *Vaiṣṇava* in the month or *Kārttika*. "One of the special observances is the placing of lights (दीपदान) inside and outside the temple, in its pinnacle (शिखरदीप), the lights being fed with ghee, sesamum oil, or camphor. Light may also be placed on streets, cross-ways, in water, in the houses of Brahmaṇs, under trees, in cow-pens, and on difficult roads through forest and wilderness. Of great efficacy is the posting of lamp on an elevated pole in the air (आकाशदीप[1]), and the nocturnal illumination with rows of light on the dark new-moon evening after due worship of लक्ष्मी. The vows of *Kārttika* are to be taken from the *eleventh* fast-day of the bright fort-night of *Āśvina*. Certain articles of food are to be avoided in this month, of which a list

1. See the *Regulations for the Illuminations* in the *Ain-i Akbari* (A. D. 1590) p. 42–43 of Vol. I of Gladwin's Translation, Calcutta, 1891— "In order to render the royal Camp conspicuous to those who come from far, His Majesty has caused to be erected in the front of the Dowlut Khanah, a pole up wards of *forty yards high*, which is supported by *Sixteen* ropes and from the top of the pole is suspended a large lantern which they call *Akassdeeah*" (आकाशदिवा or आकाशदीप)– Verily there was *Divālī* in Akbar's palace or camp every day! Was the आकाशदीप adopted by Akbar from India or was it a Moghul contrivance? — The *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to the use of "*Camphor Candles three yards* long and some larger." Every thing was grand with the Moghuls.

is given (including honey, fish and flesh); one should not use oil or unguent, sleep on others' bed, take others' food, or associate with others' women. The special worship of Rādhā and Dāmodara in the month consists of the usual ceremonies, but a Brāhman and his wife should be made to represent the deities, and worshipped with garment, ornament and feeding. On this occasion the eight stanzas on Dāmodara (दामोदराष्टक) from the *Padmapurāṇa* are to be recited. Other pious rites and acts are : bath in the spring or well called Rādhā-kuṇḍa on the eighth day of the dark fort-night (*Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī*); offer of light to Yama placed outside one's house on the thirteenth night (कृष्णत्रयोदशी); worship of Dharmarāja or Yama the next day (कृष्णचतुर्दशी); nocturnal illumination (दीपालि) mentioned above on the new moon night (अमावास्या) and fasting; worship of the Govardhana hill[1], represented by an artificial hillock of cow-dung, on the first-day of the bright fort-night (शुक्लप्रतिपद्), accompanied by worship of cows (गोपूजा), and by their sport (गोक्रीडा); worship of the mythical King Bali and his wife Vindhyāvalī, represented in a picture, the same evening; worship of Yama, bath in the Yamunā and taking of meals, served by one's affectionate sister the next day (यमद्वितीया or भ्रातृद्वितीया), a well-known observance in Bengal; worship of cows on the eighth day of the bright fort-night called गोपाष्टमी, and so forth."

The foregoing injunctions of Gopālabhaṭṭa about the observance of *Divālī* are helpful to us for a regional study of the history of this festival. They show in detail how this Divālī festival was observed by the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal about A. D. 1500, if not earlier.

I now close this paper with the following table showing the chronology of the data about the history of the Divālī gathered in this paper in continuation of the data recorded by me in my two papers on the subject, one in the *Annals* and the other in the *Journal of Jha Institute*:—

Chronology A. D.	Source	Particulars
c. 1260	Hemādri's चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (व्रतखण्ड and	Extracts about the Divālī and the allied *Vratas* are quoted by Hemādri from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (आकाशदीप, सुखरात्रि with its

1. Vide pp. 472—478 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith etc.* — The मुक्ताचरित्र of Raghunātha-dāsa tells a fanciful tale of Satyabhāmā and Kṛṣṇa. Satyabhāmā enquires if pearls grow on trees and Kṛṣṇa gives an account of his having grown pearl-creepers which bore pearl fruits at Vṛndāvana during the दीपालिका festival on the गोवर्धन hill.

	कालनिर्णयखण्ड) लक्ष्मीप्रबोध =दीपालिका	लक्ष्मीपूजन), वाराहपुराण (यक्षरात्रि on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्),ज्योतिःशास्त्र (लक्ष्मीनिद्राविमोचन on अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये), भविष्यत् पुराण (स्नानदान, etc. on कार्तिक प्रतिपत्), पद्मपुराण (पुण्या प्रतिपत् of कार्तिक etc.), भविष्यत्पुराण (कार्तिक प्रतिपत्), वाराह (कार्तिक प्रतिपत् with यक्षार्चा), ब्रह्मपुराण (का. प्रतिपत् with नारी नीराजन and मङ्गलमालिका), भविष्यत्पुराण (का. प्रतिपत् with नीराजन and मङ्गलमालिका), देवीपुराण (का. प्रतिपत् with नीराजन and मङ्गलमालिका), ब्रह्मपुराण (कार्तिक प्रतिपत् with द्यूत etc.—story of शंकर –पार्वती–द्यूत), पद्मपुराण (बलिप्रतिपदा), वामनपुराण (वीरप्रतिपदा).
Between 1200 and 1325	आदित्यभट्ट कवि-वल्लभ in his काल-निर्णय	लक्ष्मीपूजन on आश्विन अमावास्या with अभ्यंगस्नान, नीराजन and आकाशदीप. (Quotes वाराहपुराण, ब्रह्म-पुराण etc.)
c. 1350	कालनिर्णय of माधवाचार्य	" त्रयोदशीं धनाध्यक्षः कुबेरः पिबते कलाम् "
1652–53	कालनिर्णय सिद्धान्त with टीका by रघुराम	लक्ष्मीपूजन on अमावास्या called सुखरात्रिका
c. 1409	कालनिर्णयदीपिका-विवरण by नृसिंह	धनद or श्रीद (i. e. यक्षराज or कुबेर) associated with प्रतिपत्
c. 1560	कंदर्पचूडामणि of वीरभद्र (बघेल king of Rewa)	यक्षरात्रि (of कामसूत्र)=सुखरात्रि
1560–1620	भट्टोजि दीक्षित in his कालनिर्णय-संक्षेप	" प्रतिपद्धनदस्योक्ता "
1612	कमलाकरभट्ट in his निर्णयसिन्धु	Quotes numerous texts about दीपावली and allied व्रत्तs
	कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर काल	Quotes numerous texts about दीपोत्सव starting on आश्विनकृष्णद्वादशी and ending on यमद्वितीया
c. 1800	कृष्णभट्ट आरडे in his commentary on निर्णयसिन्धु	Prescribes कुबेरपूजा or धनदपूजा after लक्ष्मीपूजन on आश्विन अमावास्या and quotes some early text in support of it.
1760–1806	Bābā Pādhye in his धर्मसिन्धु	Merely prescribes कुबेरपूजा after लक्ष्मीपूजा on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् but does not quote authority for it.

Since this paper was drafted I have recieved some interesting information about the *Divālī* from friends who had read my paper on this subject published in the *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute. I note this information below with my best thanks to these friends :—

(1) Shri S. R. Tikekar, Author and Journalist, Bombay, writes on 6-8-1946 as follows :—

"In Kumaon among the Pants, Joshis and Pandes *Kuberapūjā* is observed on the *Dhanatrayodaśī*. This is of course my personal information gathered orally from those who observe it............About the *Yakṣas* I have the following notes with me:—

Yakshini is the deity with a big temple even to-day in Almora.

Yaksha is said to be the name of a tribe of people from whom, it is said, Kashmir gets its name.

Ashoka seems to have employed *Yakshas* for building his *Chaityas*."

(2) Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar writes from Madras on 9-8-1946 as follows:—

"I received the reprint of your fine paper on *Dīpāvalī* five days ago, and now write to thank you warmly for it. Till I read it I had no idea of the Jain version of the festival.

The *Vrataratnākara*, printed by the Lakṣmī Veṅkateśvara Press at Kalyan in Śaka 1848 (1926), fol. 278-279 and the *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*, N. S. Press, 1926, pp. 146-47 deal with *Dīpāvalī* under the head of *Narakacaturdaśī*.

In South India, particularly in the district of Tanjore, in the heart of the Tamil Country the *Dīpāvalī* customs are as follows:—

Dīpāvalī comes by solar reckoning in the month of *Tulām* i. e. when the Sun is in *Tulārāśī* i. e. approximately between the middle of October and the middle of November on the *Caturdaśī* of *Kṛṣṇapakṣa* in the early hour of the morning before day-break. During the current year *Dīpāvalī* comes on the "night" (taking the Indian day as running from sunrise to sunrise) of *Tuesday, 22nd October 1946*. That day *Trayodaśī* ends at 52. 75 nāḍigas after sunrise, i. e. about 8 A. M. of *Wednesday*, the *23rd October* under European reckoning. The asterism *Uttarāṣāḍhā* ends a little before midnight and at the time of *Dīpāvalī* the asterism is *Hasta*. The bath (*abhyañjana*) has to be taken before day-break, in the last *yāma* or better in the last *muhūrta* of the night. Wednesday, 23rd October is noted in the almanac as the day for the *Dīpāvalī* festivities, and for *Yama-tarpaṇam* Thursday, 25th is New Moon, *amāvāsyā*, the day for *Śrāddha*. No *abhyañjana*, is permitted on a *Śrāddha-dina*, and ordinarily no food or drink, in

the *Brāhma-muhūrta* prior to *amāvāsyā*. But sometimes *Naraka-Caturdaśī* ends at day-break and *amāvāsyā* begins immediately or soon after. The partaking of sweets, after *abhyañjana* is permissible before day-break as *Dīpāvalī Snānam*, though ordinarily both will be barred on other occasions. The next *Dīpāvalī* illustrates the different principles for observing the ritual which the *āgamas*, *purāṇas* and later *smṛtis* have discussed and which are summarised by Viśvanātha and Kamalākara. The treatment in Kamalākara's work is more full than in Viśvanātha's work, which is also later in date. Both were written at Kāśī.

According to Kamalākara the festival period is *four days* the *trayodaśī* (of the dark fortnight), when a *yama-dīpa-dāna* has to be made (p. 146), the *naraka-caturdaśī*, the next day, when at night, before dawn the auspicious bath (*maṅgala-snānam* with oil, i. e. *abhyañjanam*) has to be done before day-break (p. 148). The bath must be done, when it is *caturdaśī*, but the *Lakṣmī-pūjā* and the *nīrāñjanam* (waving of lamps) must be done in *pradoṣasamaya*, preferably at midnight on *trayodaśī*. The conjunction of the asterism *svātī* with *caturdaśī* is deemed the best time, but as this may not always occur, the asterism is less important than the *tithi*. On the New Moon Day the ordinary *Śrāddha* of the month should be done, but an exception is made in allowing that *Śrāddha* day certain articles of food which are interdicted in Śrāddhas, but are indicated for auspicious occasions. Thus in South India on this day *pappaḍams* can be fried and served even to those who have to do the *Śrāddhas*, while it cannot be done on other new moon days.

At midnight of New Moon, the expulsion of *A-Lakṣmī* is done ceremoniously by the women of the city, with the noise made by *Sūrpa-ḍiṇḍima*, i. e. winnowing fans used as drums. On the *Pratipat* or the first day of the bright fortnight following *Dīpāvalī*, a *pūjā* must be done to Bali, the emperor who was put down by Viṣṇu, and another to the mountain Govardhana, pictures of both being drawn on the floor and worshipped with flowers, fruit, invocation and *nīrāñjanam*.

With this ends the three days *Dīpāvalī* festivity. Games with cows and gambling are also prescribed on the *Pratipat*. In other works gambling is advised on *Dīpāvalī* night, as it is a time, when the goddess of wealth (Lakṣmī) is propitious.

The *Dīpāvalī* morning (before dawn) should be celebrated with fire-works, as they are intended to show the way to the manes (*ulkahastā narāḥ Kuryuḥ pitṛṇām mārga-darśanam*—p. 148).

In South India on *Dīpāvali* morning, the wife anoints the husband, and this is done specially by the newly wedded. For this purpose the son-in-law (and his parents) must come to the bride's house for the first *Dīpāvali* after marriage, when they are feasted. Rich cloths and ornaments are presented by the parents of the bride to the son-in-law, while the parents of the son-in-law bring or send through him a rich *sarree* and a jewel to the bride. In Mysore the *Pratipad* day is specially indicated for honouring the son-in-law and is more important for the purpose than *Dīpāvali*.

Even a cruel mother-in-law must make her daughter-in-law take an oil bath on *Dīpāvali* day. A person who avoids baths must bathe at least once a year on *Dīpāvali*. Such ideas are humorously woven into vernacular proverbs in Tamil, Telugu etc.

After day-break following *Dīpāvali* baths, every one goes round to the houses of his friends to ask if they have had "*Gaṅgāsnānam.*" The visitor is given *tāmbūla*, fruits and sweets. The *abhyañjana* is a combination of both good luck and *Gaṅgā-snāna* ("*taile Lakṣmīr jale Gaṅgā dīpāvalyāścaturdaśīm*", p. 146, and the comment is added "*prāya*" *iti śeṣaḥ*).

The salient features of the accounts in the two *nibandhas* are:—

(1) *maṅgala-snāna* with oil of everyone in the house before day-break.

(2) Fire-works.

(3) Insignia of *Lakṣmī* to be displayed e.g. betel-chewing before the bath by the married ladies and virgins.

(4) Distribution and consumption of sweets.

(5) A propitiation of *Yama*, the god of Death, the day prior to *Dīpāvalī* the expulsion of *A-Lakṣmī* from the house by the ladies after mid-night on New moon day and *Mārgapālī* (*govardhana-pūjā*) on the day after the New moon.

In *South India* all *pūjās* are now *omitted* as well as *yamatarpaṇam*. *Lakṣmī-pūjā* is not done but auspicious songs are sung by ladies, when the married women are made, after chewing betel, to sit over a plank and get annointed before a bath, in which the words "*Lakṣmī-Kalyāṇam*" occur. The *Crackers*, which are used in China and Indo-China to scare away demons and e. g. *Rāhū* during an eclipse, are now used as tokens of rejoicing, while the *Smṛti* seems to take them (e. g. rockets) as *mārga-darśi* to the manes. The ceremony is in honour of Bali.

Honour is shown to the *Daitya* at the instance of Viṣṇu. In South India the tradition is that the Asura *Naraka* who had oppressed the good,

was destroyed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the god ordered the day of the removal of the Asura to be celebrated in honour of the demon (!) not in memory of the relief given to people by the destruction of the demon. The *Tamil Lexicon* published by the Madras University Vol. IV, p. 1942, states that *Dīpāvali* or *Naraka-Caturdaśi* was a festival started by Śrī Kṛṣṇa at the request of the demon *Naraka*, when he was destroyed. The story of the destruction of the demon, at the request of Indra, for the recovery of the ear-rings, of which the demon had dispossessed Diti is told in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā Parvan*, Chap. 55). There is no mention in the Epic of any request of the kind made to ŚrīKṛṣṇa and granted by him. The story is also told by the *Bhāgavata*, X, 59, and by the *Harivaṃśa*, 2, 63-64. In none of these is there any mention of this story of the celebration being ordered by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in response to a request for commemoration made by the demon he had slain. In the legend of the slaying of *Gayāsura* the demon of Gaya, there is such a legend of commemoration of the *asura* by his body becoming the *homa-pīṭha*. I suspect that some such transformation has been made in this legend. But why should the celebration take place on *Āśvina-Kṛṣṇa-Caturdaśī* ? The " dark fourteenth " (*Kṛṣṇa-Caturdaśī*) is first changed to *Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī*, a day commemorating an exploit of the Hero-god. Like the Christian *All Souls' day Naraka-Caturdaśī* was apparently a night in which all spirits in Hell (*Naraka*) were freed by certain *pūjās* done by their descendants on earth. This is shown by *Naraka-Caturdaśī* coming midway between a *trayodaśī* in which the god of Death and controller of Hell is propitiated (*yama-tarpaṇam*) and the New Moon in which *tarpaṇa* is done for the good of the manes (*pitṛ-tarpaṇam*). When ancestral spirits are freed and pleased they grant boons and welfare and the central day is devoted to the celebration of the consequential prosperity (*Lakṣmī-pūjā*). The name *Naraka* is confused with that of the demon destroyed by Kṛṣṇa and the legend that is current in south India, without any epic or Purāṇic support is the result. It is an illustration of the way in which legends grow.

In recounting the exploits of the demon *Naraka*, *Harivaṃśa* II, 63,7, occurs the cryptic verse :—

" *Tvaṣṭrur-duhitaram Bhaumaḥ Kaserum-agamat-tadā=Gajarupeṇa jagrāha rucirāṅgīm Caturdaśīm.* "

" The expression *Caturdaśīm* " as applied to *Kaseru* is interpreted by Nīlakaṇṭha as fourteen years old (" *Caturdaśīm* " *Sarvadā Caturthyā daśayā yuktam, sa ca garbha Kaumārapaugaṇḍa-Sandhiyauvanam itidaśabhya ūrdhvam pañcadaśabhyo arvāk Caturdaśavārṣikīm ityarthaḥ*).

I wonder if the *Naraka-Caturdaśī* arose from this phrase.

The verse embodies, I think, a confused memory of a mixture of some old Vedic legends. *Tvaṣṭṛ* is the son of Viśvakarma, identified sometimes with him and with the sun. *Tvaṣṭṛ's* daughter *Kaseru* is after her abduction and appropriation as his queen by the Asura *Naraka*, properly *Naraka-Caturdaśī*. The festival occurs in the month of *Āśvina* and the *Aśvins* are the sons of a daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ. Their mother's name is given usually as *Śaraṇyu*, who was married to *Vivasvān*. But he had many other daughters also. One of these may be regarded as *Kaseru* identified by confusion with the number of the *Aśvins*, and then *Āśvina -Caturdaśī* and *Naraka-Caturdasī* will be equated !

The Jain legend making the festival commemorate the *parinirvāṇa* of *Mahāvīra* has internal inconsistancies. What is the connection of prosperity in the world (*Lakṣmī Pujā* with the death of a sage who renounced riches ? Why should death be celebrated with lamps, and *nirāñjana* ? What is the origin of the *pūjā* to the goddess of prosperity, who being invoked to grant a lakh replies (in the mouth of the presiding *purohita*) that a lakh and a quarter profit (*savāi lakṣa lābha*) is granted ? I fear that most Jain legends are deliberate distortions of older Hindu legends.

In the paper there seems to be some confusion between *Dipāvali* and *Kṛttikādīpa* on the bright fifteenth (*Paurṇimā*) of the Solar month of *Kṛttikā*, which is celebrated with the lighting of lamps on a large scale in every house, with public illuminations and a bon-fire in the temples, before the God, symbolizing the destruction of some demon of darkness. In Aruṇācala (Tiruvanamali in South India) on the hill, above the temple of Aruṇagirinātha (Śiva) a huge beacon is lit on the bright fourteenth (*Caturdaśī*) fed by tons of ghee, and it is visible far out on the sea. The accounts in the *nibandhas* of the two *Caturdaśīs* are given continuously as the treatment is by *tithi* or *māsa* indifferently.

In the northern Tamil areas, the *Kartigai* festival (as the latter is called) is more important than the *Dīpāvali*. In it the new bride is invited to her husband's home, for the first time, accompanied by presents, and she has to light the lamp of the house and start its illumination. Silver standard lamps are presented for this purpose by the parents of the bride. There is, however, no bath and no merit attaching to it and no *Lakṣmī -pūjā*, though worshippers of Śiva are making it a Śaiva version of *Dīpāvali* and celebrate it as a festival in honour of *Gaurī*, the mother of Kārtikeya.

In Tanjore District and the Districts south of it the *Kārtigai* festival is less important than the *Dipāvali*. A feature of the Kārtigai festival is the making and consumption of the balls of fried rice mixed with molasses. Large balls are sent with the new bride to her future home on the day.

Throughout the month of *Kārtika* lamps are placed in front of houses, in niches provided for them on either side of the doorpost every night. I hope this somewhat desultory acconnt will be of some little interest to you. It reflects the interest your paper has had for me."

In recording above the learned note of Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar I have to express my deep gratitude to him for the painstaking manner in which he had expressed his scholarly reaction to my paper on the history of our national *Divāli* festival. The mixture of several traditions and legends which have sweetened the celebration of this festival needs to be analysed carefully with a view to studying the genesis and development of every one of its numerous features which we see today. For a further study of this festival and in particular for a study of its regional variations I earnestly invite the cooperation of scholars and laymen in different provinces of India and greater India. Rao Bahadur Aiyangar has given us a fair idea of this festival as it is celebrated in South India. I shall feel thankful if other scholars publish their views with documentary evidence not only about the history of the different features of the *Divāli* but also put on record description of all beliefs and ritual current in different parts of India with regard to this festival. If any notes on this subject are sent to me I shall incorporate them in my further studies with acknowledgement. In all studies pertaining to the history of Indian culture the correlation of historical evidence with the present-day beliefs and practices is absolutely essential but the success of this correlation is entirely dependent upon the willing cooperation of critical scholars, who alone can understand any problem in its historical and regional perspectives and bring forth pertinent facts, which are likely to throw some new light on the age-old problems of Indian cultural history.

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By A. D. Pusalker

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(By N. A. Gore)


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